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Head, Francis B.
P. Durnford
10 Aug. 1836

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1677

THE
SPEECHES, MESSAGES,
AND
REPLIES
OF
HIS EXCELLENCY
SIR FRANCIS BOND HEAD, K. C. H.
LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF UPPER CANADA,
ACCOMPANIED BY AN
EXTRACT FROM A DESPATCH
OF HIS EXCELLENCY TO LORD GLENELG :
TOGETHER WITH
INTRODUCTORY REMARKS, AND A BRIEF
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

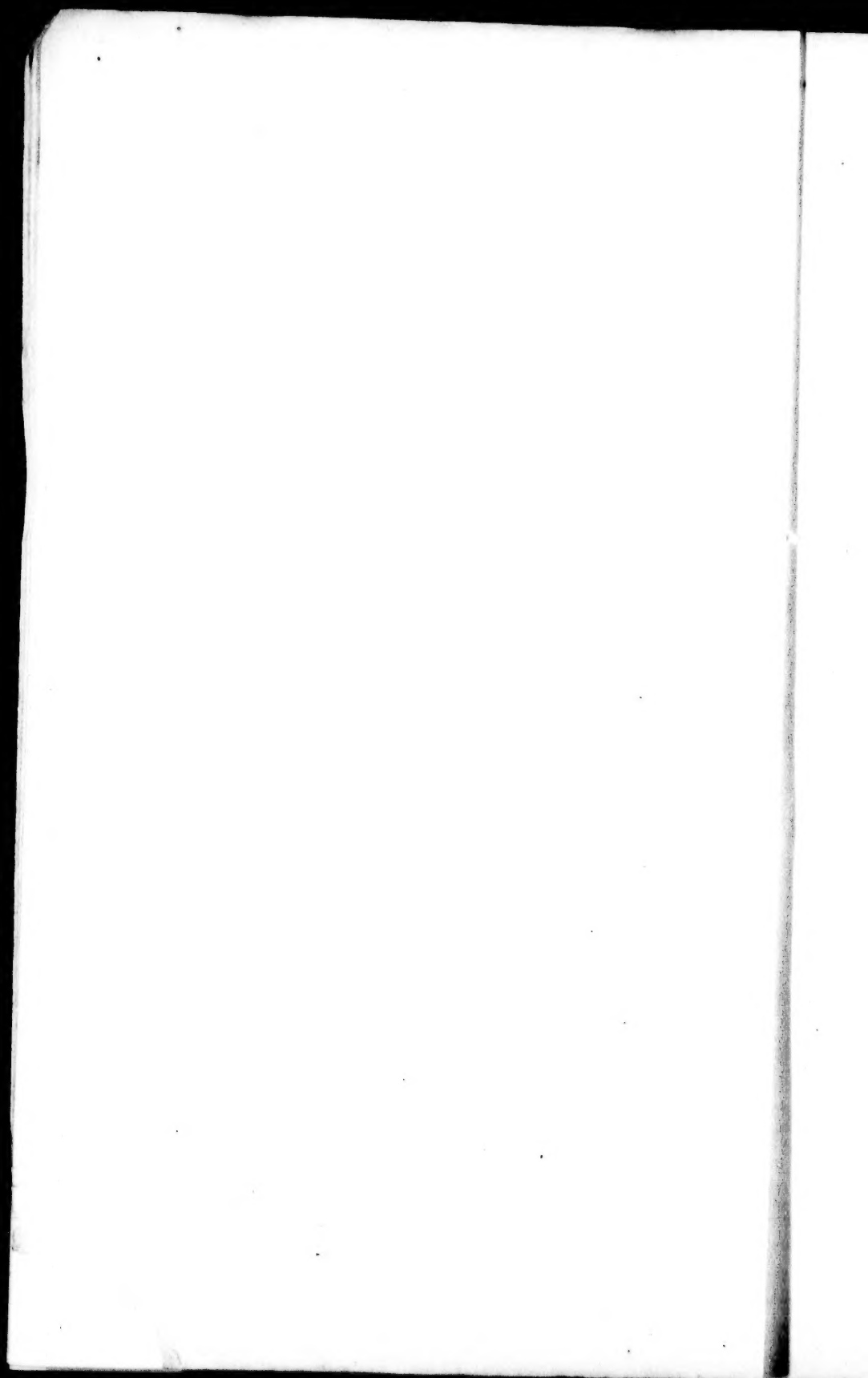
"I know not," observed one of the most eminent English diplomatists, with whom he had very frequent communications, "where Lord Collingwood got his style, but he writes better than any of us."

TORONTO, U. C.
HENRY ROWSELL.

1836.

III

THIS PAMPHLET,
THE CANADIAN STATESMAN'S
Constitutional Manual,
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED TO
HIS EXCELLENCY SIR F. B. HEAD,
&c. &c. &c.
BY
HIS HUMBLE, THOUGH STAUNCH, SUPPORTER,
AND ADMIRER,
THE PUBLISHER.



INTRODUCTORY REMARKS. &c

IN former times the Church, and the Law, were the principal, and almost only, ladders by which ambitious men could mount to political distinction. In modern days a new path has been opened; and Literature, now no longer despised or poverty-stricken, with or without academical credentials, conducts her votaries to the highest offices of state. Perhaps the new character which Literature herself has assumed, in keeping pace with the onward movement of the age, has wrought this change more than any increase of respect paid to intellectual superiority. Ceasing to confine herself to the cloisters of a college, or the secluded retreat of the abstract dreamer, she has walked abroad with eye of observation, and note-book in hand. Adding to her vast accumulation of the learning of past ages, the spirit of inquiry, the practical application of her studies, and the treasures of recent discoveries, she has gained in activity, what she has lost in bulk,—she has exchanged the ungainly folio,—the labour of a life to write, and of a life to wade through,—for the compact, lively, little duodecimo, which, travelling far beyond the range limited to the more ponderous folio or quarto, finds its way into every nook, and village of the land,—she has given a portability and increased circulation to the merchandize of mind, and vindicated the claim of the aspiring student to a participation in the glories and emoluments of the actual world, superadding to those pleasures which descend upon him in the visions of his study, the more solid gratifications of this sublunary sphere.

It is all very well for the ignorant bustler—the man of margins and red tape,—to deride the acquirements, which he does not possess, and the taste, with which he is not imbued. It is easy for him to say that the business of the world is a dry routine of details, unsusceptible of the embellishments of Literature, or the polish of science—and, that the highly-gifted with intellect and erudition are little fitted to grapple with the tangible realities of life. He may probably, should his reading extend so far, cite the case of Addison, an inefficient Secretary of State,—or Cowper, a shame-faced Clerk of the House of Lords. But, to say nothing of the constitutional peculiarities which disabled those great and virtuous men for the

avocations of public life, let him turn to Locke and Gibbon, Lords Commissioners of Trade,—to Clarendon, equally great and dignified, as Historian, Chancellor, and Prime Minister,—to Raleigh, over whose checquered and romantic career, his literary and scientific pursuits have shed a lustre, which no time can dim,—to Grotius, the benefactor of his country in the manifold and seemingly jarring capacities of Ambassador, Jurist, Historian, and Defender of the Christian Religion.

If "modern instances" are required to convince him that Literature lends dignity to the Statesman, adds weight to his words, infuses wisdom into his actions, and is a path which leads to a commanding height,—let him look at Fox, enriching his manly English eloquence with the noblest sentiments of ancient Authors, the companions of his hours snatched from the strife of party,—at Burke, rising into political eminence on the merits of his "Treatise on the Sublime and Beautiful,"—at Sheridan, Canning, and Mackintosh, all winning literary, before political, laurels; all indebted, in the first place, to the "grey goose quill," for their subsequent brilliant reputation. The literary and philosophic fame of Lord Brougham, as in the case of his greater predecessor, Bacon, will shine with a brightness that time will deny to his judicial reputation; and the Edinburgh Review, his first introduction to the "ways of glory," will preserve his name in more imperishable colours than Russell's Chancery Reports.

Although Sir Francis Head has written no elaborate work, which entitles him to rank among the standard writers of his age, we are very much mistaken, if he does not owe his advancement in life to his literary reputation. As Agent of the Rio Plata Mining Association, his business-like energy could only be known to a few. But his *Rough Notes* at once introduced him to the public, and showed that, as Dr. Johnson could descend from his *sanctum sanctorum* in Fleet-street, and, ink-horn in hand, take an inventory of Mr. Thrall's vats,—so could Sir Francis Head, ascend from the shaft of a South American mine, into the regions of philosophic speculation, and gather, we should rather say, *snatch*, knowledge, as he galloped across the Pampas, or toiled on his sagacious mule, over the precipices of the Cordilleras. To his *Rough Notes*, succeeded the *Life of Bruce*, the African Traveller, whose skill in horsemanship, and attachment to his steed, Mirza, seem to have endeared him in an especial manner to Sir Francis Head, himself almost a Centaur from his practice with the Gauchos in scouring across the Pampas.

His *Life of Bruce* was followed by a work, which, nominally of a light and evanescent nature, is interspersed with reflections of no ordinary depth on the leading questions that agitate the minds of the present generation. The *Bubbles* is written in that easy, immethodical way, with so little of set

design or purpose, that you imperceptibly become acquainted with the writer's opinions and peculiarities, as if you were sitting with him by his fire-side, or rambling in his company through the woods and vallies of Nassau. Unreserved, and natural, the kind-hearted advocate even of the brute creation, you warm towards the author, without knowing him. You may occasionally differ from him, and have Coleridge to support you in denying that he is correct, when he attributes England's national debt of seven or eight hundred millions, to the predominance of classical taste and academic talent. But taking him "all in all," you thoroughly like him. You sympathize with the generous feeling that prompts him to plead the cause of the poor German peasantry, smarting under the penalties of the Forest Laws. You share the pleasure, with which he views the vine-clad hills, the "lovely little islands which seem floating at anchor in the Rhine," the bright foliage of the good Duke's woods, and the russet carpet, which the old brown beech leaves throw over the surface of the ground. You smile at his Cruikshank-like delineations of the Schwein General, and his aid-de-camp, the "stunted little dab of a child,"—in all moods, serious or comic, he breathes such a spirit of diffusive philanthropy, he touches so many chords of the human heart, that you feel an irresistible desire to shake hands with the amiable *Old Man*.

The article on *English Charity*, in a late number of the Quarterly Review, concludes the list of Sir Francis Head's Literary publications. It first appeared in that Periodical, but attracted so much notice, and was received with such universal approbation, that, "by the particular request of several Chairmen and Members of the new Boards of Guardians, this simple, but practical elucidation of the Poor Law Amendment Act, was, with a few alterations published" in the form of a Pamphlet. A paragraph has lately appeared in the Montreal newspapers, announcing, a new work, styled "A Home Tour through the Manufacturing Districts," from the pen of Sir Francis Head. This, however, is a mistake; the author of the work in question, is a brother of His Excellency, who many years ago visited this country, and described in print its *Forest Scenes and Incidents*.*

* The following is a list of His Excellency's Works :

1. Reports relating to Rio Plata Mining Association,
2. Rough Notes taken during some rapid Journeys across the Pampas and among the Andes, by Captain F. B. Head. Third Edition. Murray, London 1828.
3. The Life of Bruce, the African Traveller, by Major F. B. Head. London. Murray. (Family Library,) 1830.
4. Bubbles from the Brunnens of Nassau by an Old Man. Third Edition. Murray, 1835.
5. English Charity. Murray, 1835.

A careful perusal of the works thus briefly passed under review, will lead to the conclusion, that Sir Francis Head,—fill what office he may—will exhibit himself no commonplace character. Straight-forwardness is the prominent feature of his writings, as of his actions. He never leaves you in the dark as to his meaning, never beats about the bush for an elegantly turned phrase, but seizes on the first word or illustration that comes to hand, and frequently presents you with his sense in a homely,—never in a flimsy,—garb. A dash of eccentricity, here and there, convinces you of his sincerity, and is a token, that he enters with all his spirit into the scene he describes, or the argument he maintains. His originality of illustration is not very dissimilar to that of Sir Charles Wetherell, who, however, is far more indiscriminate and prodigal than Sir Francis Head in the indulgence of the serio-comic. But these occasional out-breakings of wit and humour no more mar the beauty of his style, or weaken the force of his arguments, than the grotesque forms carved in the wood work of a Gothic cathedral, diminish its sombre effect, or detract from the solemnity of its vaulted aisles.

The reflections on the future destinies of South America, in the *Rough Notes*—the philanthropic and extensive views of the best method of civilizing Africa, in the *Life of Bruce*,—the Sketch of the Mediterranean Sea, and the remarks on Russian Aggrandizement in the *Bubbles*,—while they leave room to regret that Sir Francis Head has not employed his abilities on a subject more worthy of them,—give grateful assurance to the people of Upper Canada, that their Sovereign's Representative possesses a capacity equal to the administration of the government of a far more extensive and important Province than their own. And as it cannot be uninteresting to the inhabitants of this Colony, to know the opinions of one who can so materially influence their prospects and prosperity individually and nationally, we will make a few extracts from the different writings of Sir Francis Head—which, coupled with the sentiments already expressed in his several speeches and replies,—will give the reader a tolerable insight into what this Province has to expect under the present administration.

CIVILIZATION OF AFRICA.

We have endeavoured to show, that if the stagnant waters of Africa, together with the immense Rivers which have hitherto been wasted in the sea, could be imparted to the deserts; if the dry country could be irrigated, and if the wet one could be drained, this immense country would gradually become the garden and the granary of Europe, and, with its water, wealth would circulate and civilization flourish.

Now, with such a magnificent reward before us, it is certainly a question not unworthy of consideration, what reasonable grounds there are for supposing that such a vast project could be effected.

The first great argument which in propriety should most humbly be offered, is the universal belief that God has made nothing in vain, and that there is no

obstacle to our enjoyment of this earth which, sooner or later, we shall not, with His assistance, and by the surprising powers which are daily imparted to us, be enabled eventually to surmount. There was once a time when no man dared to imagine that the great ocean could be traversed in every direction; and we are also aware that America was carefully hidden from our view until our powers and our population had extensively increased. The great curtain of the West was then raised, and we were gradually made acquainted with a portion of our globe, whose features, its mountains, rivers and plains are on so vast a scale, that in ancient times men would have been totally unable to contend with them.

Seeing, therefore, that, in the great history of the world, different portions of the globe have at different periods successively been subjected to our use and dominion, it is surely reasonable to infer that Africa will eventually become 'part and parcel' of the beneficent garden in which we are placed; and the very fact that our powers of steam and machinery are rapidly increasing, that we literally can hardly imagine to what known obstacle we shall have occasion to apply them, tends to show that there must remain something very important in this world for man to do. In short, the enormous tools which Nature is placing in our hands, clearly foretell that she has some wonderful work for us to perform; and therefore, instead of calculating, as many people do, for instance, how long our coals are to last us, and in how many years hence we are unavoidably to be left in cold and darkness, is it not juster to believe, that, with our new powers, we shall obtain new resources, and that the wisdom of Nature will continue to bloom when the idle fears and theories of the day have faded and corrupted?

* * * * *

But in all countries under the sun, there is, most surely, one great road which leads directly to every man's heart, namely, his own interest. And in Africa, if we would but resolve to travel on that road, 'to be a light to lighten the Gentiles,' we might then, with some reason, pride ourselves on being 'Britons and Christians.' If we were calmly to impart to these ignorant people the valuable information we possess—if we were to satisfy them that our object is really to do them good—to give them gratis the incalculable benefits which science can bestow upon rude labour; if we were to offer to the poor woman a wheel for her draw-well—to show people who pound their corn in a mortar, a more simple method by which they might grind it—if we would, by a common filter, sweeten for them impure water, and by a herb lull the painful disorder which it creates—if we would come forward to replace a dislocated limb—and on a much larger scale, if we would explain to these people, that by a very simple operation immense portions of their vast country might either be irrigated or drained, and that even their climate might thus be purified—if we could show them manure lying unknown before them—in short, if on great subjects, as well as small, we were chemically and mechanically to assist them, we should find that the value and good qualities of a mind truly civilized, would be in Africa, as elsewhere, fully appreciated—that our fame would justly extend, and that every tribe and nation would be eager to receive us.

AN ENGLISH WAR WITH RUSSIA

I must confess, it seems to me that one of the greatest political errors England could commit would be to declare, or to join in declaring war against Russia; in short that an appeal to brute force would at this moment, be at once most unscientifically to stop an immense moral engine, which, if left to its work, is quite powerful enough, without bloodshed, to gain for humanity, at no expense, its object. The individual who is, I conceive, to overthrow the Emperor of Russia—who is to direct his own legions against himself—who is to do what Napoleon at the head of his great army failed to effect, is the little child, who lighted by the single wick of a small lamp, sits at this moment perched above the great steam-press of our 'Penny Magazine,' feeding it, from morning till night, with blank paper, which, at almost every pulsation of the engine comes out stamped on both sides with engravings and with pages of plain, useful, harmless knowledge, which by making the lower orders acquainted with foreign lands—foreign productions—various states of society, &c. tend practically to inculcate "glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace—good will towards men." It has already been stated, that what proceeds from this press is now greedily devoured by the people of Europe; indeed even at Berlin, we know it can hardly be reprinted fast enough.

This child, then,—“this sweet little cherub that sits up aloft,” is the only Army that an enlightened country like ours should, I humbly think, deign to

oppose to one who reigns in darkness—who trembles at day-light, and whose throne rests upon ignorance and despotism. Compare this mild, peaceful, intellectual policy, with the dreadful, savage alternative of going to war, and the difference must surely be evident to every one. In the former case, we calmly enjoy, first of all, the pleasing reflection that our country is generously imparting to the nations of Europe the blessings she is tranquilly deriving from the purification and civilization of her own mind;—far from wishing to exterminate we are gradually illuminating, the Russian peasant—we are mildly throwing a beam of light upon the fetters of the Russian Prince, and surely every well disposed person must see, that, if we only have patience, the result of this noble, temperate conduct must produce all that reasonable beings can desire. But, on the other hand, if we appeal to arms—if, losing our temper and our head, we endeavour (as the bear is taught to dance) to civilize the Emperor of Russia by hard blows, we instantly consolidate all the tottering elements of his dominions; we give life, energy, and loyalty to his army; we avert the thoughts of his princes from their own dishonor; we inflame the passions, instead of awakening the sober judgment of his subjects, and thus throwing away both our fulcrum and our lever, by resorting to main strength, we raise the savage not only to a level with ourselves, but actually make ourselves decidedly his inferior; for Napoleon's history ought surely sufficiently to instruct us, that the weapons of this Northern Prince of Darkness—(his climate and his legions)—even if we had an army, we ought not in prudence, to attack; but the fact is, our pacific policy has been to try to exist without an army,—in the opinion of all military men we have even disarmed ourselves too much, and in this situation, suddenly to change our system and without arms or armour to attack one who is almost invulnerable, would be most irrationally to paralyze our own political machinery.

If by its moral assistance, we wisely intend, under the blessings of Heaven, to govern and be governed, we surely ought not from anger to desert its standard; and, on the other hand, it must be equally evident that before we determine on civilizing the Emperor of Russia, by trying the barbarous experiment of whether his troops or ours can, without shrinking, eat most lead, it would be prudent to create an army, as well as funds able to maintain it; for

“BEWARE

Of entrance to a quarrel; but, being in
Bear it, that the opposer may beware of thee.”

CONSERVATISM.

The English gentleman (a name which, in the army, navy, hunting-field, or in any other strife or contention, has always shewn itself able to beat men of low birth) will then [brought up under an improved system of public education,—ED.] hold his ground in the estimation of his tenants, and continue to inhabit his estate. The English Nobleman and the noble Englishman will continue to be synonymous—a well-educated clergy will continue to be revered—the throne, as it hitherto has been, will be loyally supported—our mercantile honor will be saved—THE HOPES OF THE RADICAL WILL BE IRRETRIEVABLY RUINED—and when the misty danger at which we now tremble has brightened into intellectual sunshine, remaining, as we must do, (so long as we continue to be industrious,) the wealthiest and first commercial nation on the globe, we shall remember, and history will transmit to our children, that old-fashioned prophecy of Faulconbridge, which so truly says,

“Nought shall make us rue,
If England to itself do rest but true.”

In spite of all party spirit, angrily asserts to the contrary, most firmly do I believe that there does not exist, in England, any revolutionary spirit worth being afraid of. In a rich commercial country, the idle, the profligate, and the worthless, will always be anxious to level the well-earned honours, as well as plunder the wealth amassed by the brave, intelligent and industrious; but every respectable member of society, with the coolness of judgment natural to our country, must feel that he possesses a stake, and enjoys advantages, which I firmly believe he is highly desirous to maintain; in fact, not only the good feeling, but the good sense of the country, support the fabric of our society, which we all know, like the army, derives its spirit from possessing various honours (never mind whether they be of intrinsic value or not,) which we are all more or less desirous to obtain.

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION.

The Church-yard continues in the valley to be the only Christian receptacle for the dead ; and within its narrow limits, Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists end their worldly differences by soundly sleeping together, side by side. Here and there a tree is seen standing at the head of a Protestant's grave ; but, though the twig was exclusively planted there, yet its branches, like knowledge, have gradually extended themselves, until they now wave and droop alike over those who, thus joined in death, had, nevertheless, lived in paltry opposition to each other. The rank grass also grows with equal luxuriance over all, as if the turf, like the trees, was anxious to level all human animosities, and to become the winding-sheet or covering of Christian fraternities which ought never to have disputed.

To any serious, reflecting mind, all religions, to a certain point, are worthy of respect. It is true, all cannot be right, yet the errors are those which fellow-creatures need not dispute among each other ; he who has the happiness to go right has no just cause to be offended with those who unfortunately have mistaken their course ; and however men's political opinions may radiate from each other, yet their zeal for religion is at least one tie which ought to connect them together.

GRIEVANCE.

A grievance, like a wound, often only requires to be laid open to be cured ; whereas if, deeply seated, it be concealed from view, like gun-powder imbedded in a rock, when once the spark *does* reach it, it explodes with a violence proportionate to the power which would vainly have attempted to smother it in the earth.

EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE.

That the lower orders of people in England are rising not only in their own estimation, but in the honest opinion of the world, is proved by the singular fact that the wood-cuts of our *Penny Magazine*, (so rapidly printed by one of Clowes's great Steam-presses,) are sent, in stereotype to Germany, France, and Belgium, where they are published, as with us, for the instruction of the lower classes. The same Magazine is sent also to America, (page for page) stereotyped. The common people of England are thus proudly disseminating *their* knowledge over the surface of the globe. * * * * *

It is now much too late in the day to argue whether the education of the lower classes be a political advantage or not. One might as well stand on the Manchester Rail-road to stop its train, as to endeavour to prevent that. The people, whether we like it or not, *WILL* be enlightened.

WOMAN.

That the virtues of the weaker sex are the purest blessings which this world affords us—that they were so intended to be by nature—and that, like all her works, they have not been created in vain,—it is not even necessary to admit. From our cradle to our grave,—in our infancy, our boyhood,—our zenith and our decline,—rejoicing at our prosperity, ever smiling in our adversity, there is, we all know, a satellite attending our orbit which, like our shadow, never leaves us, and which too often becomes itself a shadow when we are gone.

The Pamphlet now presented to the public, contains the *principal* state papers which have emanated from His Excellency during the few months of his vigorous administration.—The importance of the questions and principles discussed or alluded to in them, must render every inhabitant of Upper Canada desirous of possessing them in a compact and durable form, as a sort of political manual, or text-book. So much has already been said in commendation of these masterly documents, they have aroused a feeling which has proved so in-

vincible in the late Elections, and have so thoroughly accomplished the end for which they were written, that further remarks would be superfluous. If occasionally a gleam of eccentricity breaks out—or the tame conventional language, usual on state occasions, is exchanged for a more animated tone, and a more decided expression of feeling, it must be recollected, that a crisis was at hand,—that a Revolution was to be averted, or crushed. To those stiff adherents to official etiquette, who, like the King of Spain, would rather be burnt alive, than violate a tittle of ceremonious observance—we would reply in the words of Sir Francis Head himself, when defending the language uttered by Bruce, in anticipation of the glory that would crown his discovery of the Nile :

“These and many similar enthusiastic exclamations, have severely brought upon Bruce, the cold, unfeeling, sarcastic sneer of the critic. In the quiet occupations of civilized, domestic, and fashionable life, it is unusual, and it is always termed “vulgar,” to act by or speak from the first dictates of the heart, yet, on all dangerous services, these are absolutely necessary to propel; the heart, that weak engine of life, requires, for extra work, more coals; and if, under trying circumstances, men are to be denied the natural excitement of their feelings, how are ships to be boarded?—how are breaches to be mounted?—how is the African traveller to be urged forward on his course? When Captain Parry left this country, on the coldest and most cheerless expedition that man ever undertook, he sailed from us, enthusiastically hoping “that he might fix the British Flag on the North Pole of the Earth!”—“A Peerage or Westminster Abbey!” exclaimed Nelson, as he rushed forward with his men to board the *San Josef*. Let the cynic sit in his tub, the moralist in his chair, and let the critic reign in his garret, “the monarch of all he surveys,”—the sunshine of the one, and the speculation of the others, are pleasures which they have long peacefully enjoyed; but they surely ought not to interfere with the real difficulties of life, or coldly to ridicule those eager feelings without which such difficulties positively could not be surmounted.”

The following is a list of the various Addresses presented to His Excellency, having reference to the Executive Council, and the political state of the Province.

The Addresses themselves we have not printed, as they generally express confidence in the administration of Sir Francis Head, and support him in the view he takes of the duties of the Executive Councillors. The Replies have been selected, either for their containing a novelty in substance, or a felicitous turn of expression. Of the Speech from the Throne at the prorogation of Parliament, at least 100,000 copies were

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SIGNATURES.

City of Toronto.....	1640
County of Hastings.....	716
District of Niagara.....	754
District of Prince Edward.....	864
Town of Kingston and Vicinity.....	570
Newmarket and Vicinity.....	114
Town of Niagara.....	96
Yonge Street.....	155
Township of Ancaster.....	147
Township of Stamford.....	192
Bytown.....	281
Township of Georgina.....	60
Township of Guelph.....	167
Peterboro' and Vicinity.....	1026
Perth and Vicinity.....	465
Vicinity of the River Trent.....	351
Part of the Township of Toronto.....	73
Brantford and Vicinity.....	357
Port Hope and Vicinity.....	253
Township of Lanark, { From a Meeting signed by the Chairman and Secretary. }	
Townships of Nichol and Woolwich.....	183
Township of Darlington.....	133
Magistrates, Midland District.....	43
Township of North Crosby.....	46
Township of Plympton, { Public Meeting signed by Chairman and Secretary. }	
Township of Orillia.....	70
Falls of Niagara..... { Public Meeting signed by Chairman and Secretary. }	
Vicinity of Kingston and Loughborough.....	388
Township of Trafalgar.....	485
Scarboro'.....	140
Streetsville and Vicinity.....	375
Township of Bayham.....	98
Township of Camden.....	240
Electors of the City of Toronto.....	461
County of Lenox.....	481
Township of Adelaide.....	28

Township of Aldborough,.....	51
Township of Beckwith,.....	2-7
Township of Oxford, London District,.....	375
Elizabethtown,.....	117
Leeds and Lansdowne,.....	53
Township of Kitley,.....	129
Township of Elmsley,.....	58
Township of Burgess,.....	25
Township of Yonge,.....	119
South Crosby,.....	99
Rear of Leeds and Lansdowne,.....	106
Township of Bastard,.....	95
District of Johnstown,.....	2596
Township of Pickering,.....	151
" " Nelson and East Flamboro',.....	361
" " Medonte and Simcoe,.....	80
" " Glandford,.....	112
Home District,.....	112
District of Newcastle,.....	3986
Eastern District,.....	973
Kingston,.....	471
St. Thomas and Vicinity,.....	559
Ernest Town and Amherst Island,.....	438
Richmond and Vicinity,.....	225
2nd Riding of the County of York,.....	690
Township of Moore, Western District,.....	83
Ottawa District,.....	1090
Town of London,.....	350
Sombra,.....	91
County of Kent,.....	192
North part of the Township of Toronto & Gore of Toronto,.....	270
County of Essex,.....	268
Parish of Assomption, French Inhabitants,.....	162
The colored Inhabitants of Dundas Hamilton & Brantford,.....	431
Township of Nepean,.....	149
" " Goderich,.....	276
" " Warwick,.....	101
" " Ramsay,.....	221
Gananoque and Vicinity,.....	41
Wesleyan Methodist Conference,.....	{ Signed by order, and in behalf of the Conference: WM. LORD, President, WM. CASE, Secretary:
United Synod of Upper Canada,.....	
	{ Signed in name, presence, and appointment of Synod: C. NICOLL, Moderator, WM. SMART, Stated Clerk of United Synod:
Signatures forwarded since the Addresses were received,.....	463
Grand Total,.....	28,188
	77 Addresses:

The last seven of the above Addresses were presented after the commencement of the Elections, to all of which His Excellency was pleased to make the following Reply:

'GENTLEMEN—As the Elections have commenced, I must decline giving any other reply to the Address which I have just received from you, than merely to acknowledge its receipt.'

Had not the Governor replied in these laconic terms, (which are by no means to be taken as conveying a reproof) his Republican enemies would have instantly asserted that he was attempting to exercise an unconstitutional influence over the pending elections.

A BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF

HIS EXCELLENCY SIR FRANCIS BOND HEAD.

SIR FRANCIS BOND HEAD is the great-grandson of Sir Francis Head, Baronet. The family, which has long been settled in the county of Kent, derives its name from the Kentish port now called Hythe, but formerly known as "*De Hede*." The Baronetcy was conferred, in 1676, upon Richard Head, Esq., who represented Rochester in Parliament. When the misguided James the Second retired to that city, from which he finally embarked for France, Sir Richard Head received the fallen Monarch in the hour of his adversity, and was presented by him with a valuable emerald ring.

Of the early period of His Excellency's life we possess no knowledge;* but from the very first moment in which he appeared before the public, his course has been marked by integrity, ability, and decisive promptitude of action. He visited South America as the agent of the Rio Plata Mining Association; and finding, when he got there, that the speculation could never pay, he took upon himself the responsibility of selling the whole concern. When he returned to his employers, they were so indignant at this breaking up of all the golden visions with which their brains had teemed, that they threatened to commence legal proceedings against their too honest agent. He, strong in the consciousness of innocence, — fortified by the approbation of his Sovereign, who created him a Knight of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic

* Since this SKETCH was written, a few particulars of His Excellency's early life have been gleaned from his writings. He left his classical school at the age of 14. Several years ago he made a trigonometrical survey of the island of Lampedoza, in the Mediterranean, from which he embarked in a small Greek vessel for Tripoli; but, owing to the ignorance and drunkenness of the captain, he was nearly wrecked, and, after more than a day's beating about, with little hope of ever seeing land, arrived in safety at Malta. Of this interesting island and its former occupants, the Knights Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem, His Excellency has given a lively historical outline in *THE BUBBLES*. He has also traversed the ruins of Rome—"the Niobe of nations,"—beheld

'the mountain shadows kiss

Thy glorious gulph, unconquer'd Salamis'—

witnessed the dance of the Dervishes amid the fallen temples of Athens,—and felt his 'patriotism gain force upon the plain of Marathon.'

Order, — and borne out in his views by subsequent events, calmly awaited the storm, which speedily passed away.

When in South America, which country, we believe, he has visited at two different periods, Sir Francis, whose skill in horsemanship is already well known in Upper Canada, galloped over the Pampas, or plains, of that magnificent portion of this Continent. He scaled the Cordilleras, the loftiest chain of the Andes ; and with a quick observant eye viewed man in all his varieties—bivouacked on mountain and in plain—strengthened and enlarged his mind by travel—and taught his faculties, mental and bodily, to be braced by action, and to be ready at command in the moment of difficulty or peril. With a capacity equal to the entertaining of the most comprehensive views, no trifle escaped his notice. Indeed out of a trifle he extracted importance. He observed a peculiar method used in South America of harnessing horses to the carriage they had to draw, by which they were enabled to work with much less labour, and to carry a much heavier load. Of the hint thus suggested he availed himself at Waterloo, and applied the South American mode with great success to the transportation of artillery. So valuable and meritorious were his services at Ligny, where he had a horse killed under him, that they did not escape the notice of the veteran Blücher, upon whose recommendation he was honoured by the estimable King of Prussia with the Military Order of Merit.

Sir Francis seems to have been smitten with a love of travellers, as well as travelling. He has written the "Life of Bruce, the Abyssinian Traveller," and rescued the fame of that lofty-minded and much slandered man from the sneers of ignorance and incredulity. In the "Bubbles from the Brunnens of Nassau," (a work published in 1834,) he mingles among much weighty and valuable information light pleasant sketches of the society to be met with at the Baths of Germany. A London literary journal, enlisted on the popular side, thus speaks of it:—"This is the pleasantest volume we have read for a long time ; nor is it deficient in instruction, and in useful practical hints by which the sum of enjoyment of all classes may be raised and increased. The author, indeed, shows a lively interest in the condition of the people, on the subject of popular education, and in all that has a tendency to improve his native country and mankind generally. Writing in the character of a gentleman, he continually insists on what is due to the people, and on the necessity which our aristocracy lies under of keeping up with the enlightenment of the lower classes. In common with all liberal and truly enlightened minds, he wishes to see wholesome instruction imparted to all classes of the community,

the cheap elegancies of life universally diffused, the thorny and infinitely subdivided barriers that occur in our society removed and softened down, and the intercourse of man with man, whatever may be their relative wealth or rank, more easy and amiable. And all this he wishes, not for the sake of a revolutionary jumble, but as the true means of preventing Revolution." These are the remarks, not of a Tory, but of a Liberal reviewer, and they are followed by others of a similar character:—

"A great charm in the volume before us is the kindly, humane disposition it everywhere evinces, and the readiness of the author to observe and be delighted with natural scenery and objects that are equally open to the humblest traveller, or to the poorest peasant. He offers some valuable suggestions, derived from his observations of the practice of the Germans in those matters, as to the means of avoiding useless and injurious cruelty in the treatment of our domestic animals. The noble horse, the sweet-smelling cow, nay, even the despised pig, claim each a share in his merciful consideration. His descriptions of these animals, and the hills, woods, and valleys of Nassau, where he meets them, are spirited and graphic; and, indeed, all these portions of his book are to us exceedingly interesting. In the pure dry air of the country—in the sight of a harvest field, with the local peculiarities of reaping the corn—in the home view of a little valley, as in the glorious prospect of the Rhine, caught by climbing up a tree on the mountain's side—in the observation of the manners and habits of the quiet peasantry, or of the sporting of the little fire-flies by night, this amiable traveller finds a fund of enjoyment which he largely imparts to his readers in his easy natural sketches. At Wiesbaden our amusing traveller leaves us, and there we leave him, with a great respect for his talents, and a still greater respect for his pure simple tastes, his freedom from narrow prejudices, and his noble liberality of mind." To this testimony may be added that of another liberal editor—the editor of an English paper called the *Hereford Reformer*:—"The '*Tour across the Pampas*,' (a work written by Sir Francis, containing sketches of his Travels in South America,) and the '*Brunnens of Nassau*,' are two of the happiest descriptive works of modern days, and we can most conscientiously recommend them to our readers." And Coleridge, the sublimest and purest of modern philosophers, commends "the Anglo-gentlemanly, sensible, and kindly mind breaking forth everywhere" in the volumes of Sir Francis Head.

The latest public capacity in which Sir Francis was engaged, before leaving England to assume the Government of Upper Canada, was that of Assistant Poor Law Commis-

sioner—an office created by a recent Act of Parliament.—The County of Kent is one of the richest and most fertile in England, and contains a population of 500,000 souls. Agricultural distress had reached there, as well as all over England, an alarming height, and the objects of the Act under which Sir Francis was appointed, were especially to raise the condition of the agricultural classes, and, by introducing a better system of giving relief to the needy labourer, to diminish the burdens of rates and taxes which weighed so heavily upon the distressed farmer. In carrying these excellent intentions into effect, the Commissioner had to contend against old and deep-rooted prejudices, and commenced his undertaking under very unfavorable auspices, since he had to deal with persons who, if they assented to his propositions, would “sign the death-warrant of their own authority. Nothing daunted, he prepared himself for his task; and, “as his project was (we quote his own account) to divide the magisterial divisions into unions, by circular letters he separately collected together the magistrates, parochial officers, and principal rate-payers of every division in East Kent.”

“As the subject was one of intense interest these meetings were attended by almost every magistrate in the county, and by many of the clergy, and by all the parish officers, and when it is stated that the magisterial divisions in East Kent are composed of 56, 50, 42, 25, and 26 parishes, it may easily be conceived that the assemblage was so large, that it was, in general, necessary to repair to the national school to obtain admittance for every one. Among the parish officers, the feeling towards the Poor Law Amendment Act was generally hostile; and not only did most of them leave their houses, intending individually to oppose the measure, but before the meeting took place, they, in many instances, met together, talked the affair over, and having no idea of the plan to be proposed, many of them collectively agreed together, that they would hold up their hands against it. The Commissioner being perfectly aware of the existence of these feelings, knowing also they were engendered only by ignorance, as soon as the meetings were assembled,” addressed himself to the assemblage, and clearly explained his object. The honest farmers of Kent were open to conviction; their prejudices melted away before the temperate and forcible arguments of Sir Francis Head; and when the sense of the meetings was taken as to the adoption of his plan,

705 voted for it;

5 voted against it.

It is to be hoped that before long a similar triumph will await the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada.

In an able and delightful article, full of quaint benevolence,

in the *Quarterly Review*, he has embodied the results of his experience as a Commissioner; and, says the *Hereford Reformer*, above cited, "We seldom quote the *Quarterly*, and still less frequently to approve, but there is a charm about the article on *English Charity* which is quite irresistible. It is written by Sir Francis Head, and we can most conscientiously recommend it to our readers. They will read it with pleasure, and not quit it, without having derived from it a lesson, both of good temper and of sound reasoning."

The office of the Commissioner was not that of a *Drill Beggar*, or a *Parish Overseer*, or a *Beggarman*—expressions applied to the King's Representative, by Messrs. McKenzie and O'Grady. On the contrary, it was an office which brought Sir Francis into communication with the nobility, gentry, and clergy of Kent, and made him acquainted with the feelings and opinions of the yeomanry, and of the agricultural labourers;—it was an office which enabled him to save the county of Kent the yearly expenditure of very many thousands of pounds;—it was an office, in which he showed so much of a humane decision in quelling agricultural riots, in which he exhibited so much ability, and such a ready application of it, as to earn the esteem of the Kentish yeomanry, and to attract the observation of His Majesty's Ministers. These were the qualifications that pointed him out as a fit successor to Sir John Colborne,—as a person, whose winning and straightforward manners, added to the nobler qualities we have already attributed to him, eminently fitted him to compose differences, and to conciliate, without unduly conceding. Sir Francis at first declined the proffered dignity; but His Majesty's Ministers, to almost all of whom he was a total stranger, having repeated their request, he "felt it impossible not to accede to it," and accordingly arrived at Toronto on the 23rd of January last, and in a day or two afterwards was sworn in Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada.

Since that time the actions of Sir Francis Head form a portion of the History of Upper Canada. * If purity of purpose, if a heart to feel generously, a head to conceive wisely,

* They are sufficiently set forth in the following documents, especially in the speech on the prorogation of Parliament. The prediction in the *Sketch* has been fulfilled; and a new House of Assembly has been returned, consisting of 44 Constitutionalists, and 18 Republicans, if, indeed, there are so many. Out of the 32 members who voted in the last Parliament, for the stoppage of the Supplies,—16, including Mr. Perry, the leader of the Republican majority, and Mr. McKenzie, the Chairman of the Grievance Committee, have been unsuccessful candidates at the late Elections; while, of the minority of 21 on that question, 16 have been re-elected; the seats of 4 *Strange, Thom, Brown, and Wilkinson*, are still occupied by Constitutionalists, and one ONLY, (*Walsh of Norfolk*, who did not stand) has been succeeded by a Republican. To render the triumph more complete, Mr. Bidwell, the late Speaker has been utterly routed in the county, which he has mis-represented, for 12 years.

and a hand to execute firmly, ought to endear a Lieutenant Governor to the people of Upper Canada, Sir Francis deserves a place in the grateful affections of every honest man. If he triumph in the approaching contest, the connexion with Britain and the British Constitution in Upper Canada are preserved, and the Province will be irrigated with prosperity, as if with the waters of the Nile; if he fail, the cable that holds Upper Canada to Great Britain is cut; this Province becomes independent;—and many a merchant, many a farmer—many an honest man, will quit Upper Canada with Sir Francis Head, and try his fortune again in the land from which he came. But away with all doubts as to success! The cause of the Constitution must triumph, and the blessing of God will be upon it!

Sir Francis has been long married to a sister of one, who when living was a bright ornament of the British Peerage. His Lady is sister to John, the late Lord Somerville, a nobleman, in the language of Sir Walter Scott, “combining the knowledge of the agriculturist with the manners of the courtier,” and to whom the farmers of Great Britain are indebted for the introduction of the breed of the Merino Sheep.

Lady Head’s nephew, the Earl of Erroll,—a liberal Peer,—is son-in-law to His present Majesty, William IV.

ALAN FAIRFORD.

Toronto, June, 1836.

[This sketch first appeared in the *Toronto Courier* of the 11th June.]

SPEECHES, MESSAGES, REPLIES, &c.

SPEECH FROM THE THRONE.

JANUARY 27.

*Honorable Gentlemen of the Legislative Council; and
Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,*

As the Lieutenant-Governor of this Province, I am commanded by the King to lay before you the answer His Majesty has been pleased to make to the several addresses and representations which proceeded from the two branches of the Legislature during your last Session.

This communication I shall submit to you in a message which will at once inform you of the difficult and most important duties about to devolve upon me as well as upon yourselves.

As regards myself I have nothing either to promise or profess, but I trust I shall not call in vain upon you to give me that loyal, constitutional, unbiassed, and fearless assistance which your King expects, and which the rising interests of your country require.

REPLY TO CORPORATION ADDRESS.

Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen of the Corporation,

I receive with pleasure the personal congratulations you have been good enough to offer me; but it is with feelings of infinitely higher satisfaction that I remark and admire your devoted attachment to our revered Sovereign, and to the Constitution of our Mother Country.

Gentlemen, I hear it daily remarked to me, most particularly by those whose own minds are disturbed, that I am placed in a very critical situation, and that I am surrounded by difficulties almost insurmountable.

I cannot, however, say that I participate in any such apprehension: I know that the inhabitants of this Province are loyal; I also know that they possess not only good feelings, but good sense.

I require no other support, I ask for no other assistance; for I feel confident, that when the broad, liberal policy of His Majesty's Government is clearly developed,—when the truth becomes known, that I have no dearer object than impartially to correct all real grievances, and to reward alle-

giance to our beloved Monarch by cheap and good government, all ranks of people will unite with the Capital of Upper Canada in loyally offering me that '*cordial co-operation*' for which I now beg to return you my best thanks.

MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

FEBRUARY 15.

F. B. HEAD.

The Lieutenant-Governor transmits to the House of Assembly the following answer to its Address of the 5th instant.

It appears to the Lieutenant-Governor that this Address contains—

- 1st. A statement of the opinions of the House on various subjects of high importance to this Province.
- 2d. A request that the Lieutenant-Governor should himself give the House certain explanations.
- 3d. A request that the Lieutenant-Governor should transmit to the House copies of certain documents and despatches which are mentioned.

The Lieutenant-Governor assures the House of Assembly that every opinion stated in their Address shall receive his attentive and deliberate consideration.

With respect to the explanations, as also the copies of the documents and despatches which the House of Assembly has requested from the Lieutenant-Governor, he will now proceed to consider these subjects seriatim, in the order in which they appear in the Address.

1st. The Lieutenant-Governor transmits herewith to the House of Assembly, according to its request, "a copy of the Correspondence desired to be obtained by our Address to His Excellency Sir John Colborne, dated the 19th of January, 1835, relative to the removal of the late Attorney-General and Solicitor-General, the appointment of the present Attorney-General, and the re-appointment of the Solicitor-General."

The Lieutenant-Governor informs the House of Assembly that there also exists in the Government-office one other Despatch on the above subject, marked "Confidential," and which he withholds from the House because it is not even left to his discretion to impart it.

The Lieutenant-Governor, however, briefly explains to the House of Assembly that Lord Goderich's Order of the 8th March, 1833, for the retirement of the Solicitor-General,

was subsequently reversed by His Majesty's Government, in consequence of exculpatory explanations, which that officer made during his visit to England.

2d. The Lieutenant-Governor transmits herewith to the House of Assembly, according to its request, "a copy of the Correspondence concerning the several expulsions of a member of this House in the last Parliament.

3d. The House of Assembly request "copies of any despatches that would serve to explain to this House the apparent contradictions between the Royal Instructions relative to the dismissal or resignation of public officers when they cease to give a conscientious support to the measures of the Government, and the continuance in office of persons composing the Executive Council and legal advisers of the Government, notwithstanding their opposition to many urgent and beneficial measures of reform so often and loudly called for by a large majority of the people of the Colony, and recommended by the Earl of Ripon, as set forth in his Despatch of the 8th November, 1832; which opposition, and utter contempt of the wishes of the people and the recommendation of His Majesty's Government as aforesaid, will most strikingly appear by reference to the Journals in regard to the proceedings had on the said Despatch, which was sent down to both Houses by His Excellency Sir John Colborne, in compliance with the Instruction of the Earl of Ripon, to make it public in Canada; by which reference it will most distinctly appear that the above description of persons have not only opposed the carrying into effect the said recommendations, but offered the greatest indignity to His Majesty and his Minister, by voting to send the said Despatch back to His Excellency, in opposition to a motion for printing and publishing it; and on another occasion opposed and prevented the passage of an address of thanks to His Majesty for his prompt attention, displayed in said Despatch, to the wishes and interests of the people of the Colony, by moving another address in amendment, of a censurable character upon His Majesty's Minister for writing and transmitting the said Despatch, which Address was afterwards presented to His Excellency as the Address of the House, although never carried through its several stages."

In reply to the above request, the Lieutenant-Governor informs the House of Assembly, that no despatches exist in the Government-office affording the explanation desired.

4th. The Lieutenant-Governor transmits herewith to the House of Assembly, according to its request, "a statement of the several persons who compose Your Excellency's Executive Council, and of your legal advisers, with the dates of their appointments, and at which they were severally sworn into office."

5th. The House of Assembly request "that Your Excellency will please to inform this House whether it is considered that their appointments and continuance in office are in strict accordance with the spirit of the Royal Instructions, and that they are taken from among that class of His Majesty's subjects who have given a conscientious support to those measures of the Government which are enumerated in the Despatch of the Earl of Ripon, as aforesaid."

As the *appointment* of the individuals alluded to, is the prerogative of the Crown, the Lieutenant Governor cannot presume to offer to the House of Assembly any opinion on that subject; but with respect to the question whether their *continuance* in office is in strict conformity with the spirit of the Royal Instructions, contained in Lord Ripon's despatch of the 8th November, 1832, the Lieutenant Governor conceives, that the real meaning of those instructions was, to arm the Lieutenant Governor of this Province, with power to require and if necessary, to insist on the resignation of any, or all individuals holding official situations, who should openly or latently, oppose the measures of his Government.

The Lieutenant Governor will certainly not hesitate to avail himself of this power, should he ever feel it his painful duty to do so, but he considers it would not be a fruitful application of his time, were he now retrospectively to attempt to determine, whether these individuals ever had, or had not opposed any measure of the Government of his predecessor, who is responsible to His Majesty alone, for his decisions. He, therefore, feels he is bound, in justice, to infer, that as his predecessor did not see occasion to dismiss these officers, their continuance in office to the present date, is in strict accordance with the spirit of the Royal instructions, which never required that these gentlemen should inflict upon themselves the penalty awarded, in case they should oppose the measures of the Government.

6th. The House of Assembly state, "that in reply to the representations of this House to His Majesty against the composition of the Legislative Council, the despatch of Lord Glenelg refers with approbation to the report of the Committee of the House of Commons on Canada affairs in the year 1828, and we cannot by any possible ingenuity reconcile the principles laid down in that report, and that despatch, with those acted upon in the recent appointment to seats in the Legislative Council, (if we may believe general report) inasmuch as all those said to be lately appointed to the said Council, who were members of the last Parliament, (including the gentleman who has during the present session, already taken his seat) took a most conspicuous and prominent part in the contemptuous proceedings on the Earl of Ripon's despatch; which a reference to the journals of this

House will most amply shew; and all said to be so appointed have always been understood to be violently opposed to the principal measures of improvement and policy so long required by a large majority of the people, thereby increasing, if possible, instead of diminishing the great obstacle to the reform necessary to be accomplished, in order to secure to the people of this colony, peace, happiness and prosperity, and the full enjoyment of their civil and religious rights and privileges. We, therefore desire to obtain copies of any communication between the Colonial Office and the Government of this Colony relating to the late appointments to the Legislative Council, or those of any other persons whose appointments have not been acceded to or confirmed by the King—and to be informed who, among those lately appointed have taken the oath as Legislative Councillors, and who, if any among them have declined accepting of the appointment, and we request Your Excellency as early as may be to call upon any such as have been so appointed either to accept the said appointment, and take the necessary oath, &c. or to decline the same."

As the Lieutenant Governor is incompetent to judge of the principles which regulated the conduct of his respected predecessor, it is totally out of his power to attempt to reconcile to the House of Assembly, the recent appointments to the Legislative Council with the report and despatch alluded to by the House of Assembly. But although these appointments are the prerogative of His Majesty, and although the recommendation from which they proceeded ought not to transpire, the Lieutenant Governor nevertheless transmits to the House of Assembly, according to its request, "copies of any communications between the Colonial Office and the Government of this Colony relating to the late appointments to the Legislative Council, or those of any other persons whose appointments have not been acceded to or confirmed by the King"—and moreover the Lieutenant Governor informs the House, that those gentlemen who have been lately appointed, have been already required to take the oath as Legislative Councillors.

7th. The House of Assembly states, "We therefore trust that Your Excellency will take immediate steps in fulfilment of the gracious wishes of the King, to carry into effect his benevolent intentions, as desired by the great body of the people of this Colony, by calling upon the said Bishop (of Regiopolis) and Archdeacon (of York) either to withdraw from the Legislative Council altogether, or resign their other offices."

The Lieutenant Governor is not aware that His Majesty has expressed any "*intentions*" on the above subject, but

opinions have been very clearly expressed by Lord Ripon, in his Despatch of the 8th November, 1832, to the full extent and meaning of which the Lieutenant Governor assures the House he shall feel it his duty strictly to attend.

8th. The House of Assembly request, "that Your Excellency will lay before us any other information or instructions that you may have received (if any) from His Majesty's Government beyond what has already been sent to us, relative to the administration of the Government."

In reply to the above request, the Lieutenant Governor feels it will be only necessary for him to remind the House of Assembly of the following extract of the Message he communicated on the 30th ult. "The Lieutenant-Governor was commanded by His Majesty to communicate the "substance" of his instructions to both Houses of the Provincial Parliament; but considering it would be more satisfactory to them to receive the whole, he accordingly transmits it herewith."

9th. The House of Assembly requests the Lieutenant Governor will transmit "any other information or instruction in answer to a resolution transmitted to His Majesty, through His Excellency Sir John Colborne, which resolution was reported to this House by the finance committee, and adopted by the House as containing our views on the important question of the appropriation of the proceeds of the natural resources of the country by the Legislature, and strongly remonstrating against the charter and improvident sale to the Canada Company, which has proved, and is likely to continue to prove, exceedingly injurious to the Province."

In answer to the above request, the Lieutenant Governor re-assures the House of Assembly, that he has received from His Majesty's Government, no other information or instructions on the subject beyond what he has already communicated.

10th. The Lieutenant Governor transmits herewith, to the House of Assembly, according to its request "Copies of answers to any other resolutions or addresses of this House, transmitted to His Majesty by its order."

11th. The House of Assembly requests the Lieutenant Governor to transmit copies "of the correspondence between His Majesty's Government and the Government of this Province, especially relative to the address reported by the Committee on Grievances, and adopted by this House on the complaint of an outrage on William Forsyth, late proprietor of the Niagara Falls Hotel."

In reply to this request, the Lieutenant Governor informs the House of Assembly, that the case of Mr. William Forsyth, with the documents relating to it, are at this moment under the consideration of His Majesty's Government; and

that as soon as the Lieutenant Governor receives His Majesty's final decision, it shall be immediately communicated to the House.

12th. The Lieutenant Governor transmits to the House of Assembly according to its request, "the copy of the Despatch of His Excellency Sir John Colborne to the Secretary for the Colonies, dated 12th September last."—The Despatch dated the 16th, containing his Excellency's observations on some of the topics embraced in the 7th Report on Grievances, the Lieutenant Governor cannot transmit without the sanction of the Secretary of State.

13th. The House of Assembly requests the Lieutenant Governor to transmit to the House "copies of all other communications between the Colonial office and the Executive Government of this Province, on matters of public or general interest to the inhabitants of this Province since the period of the general election of members to serve in the present House of Assembly, and referred to in the despatch of the Secretary of State sent down to this House on Saturday last, as being for your Excellency's guidance and instruction."

In reply to this request, the Lieutenant Governor observes to the House of Assembly, that in his instructions alluded to, he certainly was referred for information by the Colonial Minister "to the correspondence of my predecessor and myself, with the Officers who have successively administered the Provincial Government," but he is sure the House will feel that it was not either the intention or wish of His Majesty's Government that the Lieutenant Governor should [as requested by the House] unreservedly and without even a specification of the documents required, divulge to one branch of the Legislature, a voluminous correspondence which from its nature, must unavoidably relate to many questions belonging exclusively to the other two Branches; but must also unavoidably contain subjects of a strictly confidential nature, besides others, the publication of which would merely tend to revive by-gone discussions.

The Lieutenant Governor takes this opportunity of appealing to the liberality and good sense of the House of Assembly for consideration, that as a stranger to this Province, totally unconnected even with the political differences which have existed in the mother country, he has but lately arrived here, entrusted by our most Gracious Sovereign with instructions, the undisguised object of which is, firmly to maintain the happy constitution of this country inviolate, but to correct cautiously, yet effectually, all real grievances.

The House of Assembly is deeply interested in the importance and magnitude of the task he has to perform—and he is confident it will, on reflection, be of opinion, that the

Lieutenant Governor of this Province had better look steadily to its *future* prosperity and improvement—that he had better attract into Upper Canada the superabundant capital and population of the mother country, by encouraging internal peace and tranquillity—than to be observed occupying himself only in re-considering the occurrences of the *past*.

The Lieutenant Governor does not assert, that the latter occupation would be totally useless, but he maintains, that the former is by far the most useful, and that to attend to both is impossible.

14th. The Lieutenant Governor transmits to the House of Assembly according to its request, “a statement of the proceedings and steps taken by the government, relative to a special matter contained in the third report of the committee on finance of last session, in reference to a defalcation of monies by the late collector of the town of Kingston, which defalcation had for several years been reported and appeared in the public accounts, but which was omitted to be stated by the Inspector General, in the last accounts sent down to this House, without any authority to do so from the Legislature.”

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, }
15th February, 1838. }

REPLY TO A DOCUMENT ADDRESSED TO HIS EXCELLENCY BY THE
SIX EXECUTIVE COUNCILLORS, THE HONORABLE MESSRS.
PETER ROBINSON, GEORGE H. MARKLAND, JOSEPH WELLS,
JOHN H. DUNN, ROBERT BALDWIN, AND JOHN ROLPH.

MARCH 5.

F. B. HEAD.

The Lieutenant-Governor transmits to the Executive Council the following observations in reply to the document which, in Council, they yesterday addressed to him.

The Constitution of a British Colony resembles, but is not identical with, the Constitution of the Mother Country; for, in England, besides the House of Commons, which represents the people, there exists a hereditary nobility, the honours and wealth of which, as well as the interests of the Established Church, are represented by a House of Lords; while the Sovereign (who, by law, can do no wrong) is surrounded by a Ministry upon whom devolves the entire responsibility of the measures they suggest, and who are consequently removable at pleasure. But in the Colonial portion of the British Empire, which, however rising, is generally speaking thinly inhabited, the people are represented by their House of Assembly, which is gifted not only with the same command over the Supplies as in England, but which

possesses within the Colony most of the powers of the British House of Commons. The Legislative Council is indeed, as far as the circumstances of a young colony can permit, to resemble the British House of Lords; and if the Lieutenant-Governor stood in the place of the Sovereign—and if, like his Majesty, he could do no wrong, it would evidently be necessary that a Ministry, Executive Council, or some other body of men, should be appointed, who might be responsible to the country for their conduct.

This, however, is not the case. His Majesty delegates his Sovereign protection of his Colonies to no one, but he appoints a Lieutenant-Governor, who is responsible to him for his behaviour, who is subject to impeachment for neglecting the interests of the people, and who is liable, like the English Ministry, to immediate removal—and the history of the British Colonies clearly shows, that there is no class or individual of His Majesty's subjects to whose representation, prayer, or petition, the King is not most willing to attend.

The Lieutenant-Governor is therefore the responsible Minister of the Colony; and as not only his character, but his continuance in office depend on his attending to the real interests of the people, it would be evidently as unjust towards him that he should be liable to impeachment for any acts but his own, as it would be unjust towards the people, that a responsibility so highly important to their interests should be intangible and divided. It is true, his knowledge of the country is not equal to that of many intelligent individuals within it; but in Government, impartiality is better than knowledge; and it must be evident to every well-constituted mind, that in an infant state of society it would be impossible practically to secure a sufficient number of impartial persons to effect a change of Ministry as often as it might be necessary for the interests of the people to do so.

This difference between the Constitution of the Mother Country and that of its Colony is highly advantageous to the latter; for, as in all small communities private interests and party feelings must unavoidably be conflicting, it is better, as well as safer, that the people should be enabled to appeal in person, or by petition, to the Lieutenant-Governor himself, whose duty it is to redress their complaints, and who is liable to dismissal if he neglects them, than that they should appeal to a series of Provincial Ministries, composed of various individuals.

To enable the Lieutenant-Governor to perform the arduous duties of his office, the Constitution has wisely provided him with an Executive Council, competent to supply him with that local knowledge in which he may be deficient, and to whom he may apply for counsel and advice.

Before he entrusts himself to these gentlemen, they are, by order of His Majesty, required solemnly to swear, not only to give to the Lieutenant-Governor their best counsel and advice, but they are also sworn to secrecy.

Their individual opinions can never be divulged, *even to the King*; and, as a proof that His Majesty does not hold them responsible for the acts of his Lieutenant-Governor, they can retain, and often do retain, their office of sworn advisers, although governor after governor may have been dismissed.

The advantage of such a council to a lieutenant-governor is so self-evident, that he must be weak and self-sufficient indeed who does not continually have recourse to it; but although it strengthens his judgment, and confers dignity on his proceedings, yet in no way does it shield him from disgrace should his acts be found contrary to the interests of the people. In such a case it would be vain, as well as unconstitutional, for a lieutenant-governor to attempt to shield himself from responsibility by throwing it upon his council; for by his oath he cannot even divulge which of his advisers may have misled him. Supposing, for instance, that, with the concurrent advice of his Council, he was illegally to eject by military force an individual from his land, the Lieutenant-Governor would be liable to arraignment; and whether he had acted by the opinion of the Law-officers of the Crown—by the advice of his Council—by information derived from books—or from his own erring judgment, it has been wisely decreed that the injured subject shall look to him, and him alone, for retribution; and that he, and he alone, is answerable to his Sovereign for the act of injustice which has been committed.

Being therefore subject both to punishment and disgrace, it is absolutely necessary, as well as just, that the lieutenant-governor of a colony should have full liberty to act (though at his peril) in every case as he may think best for the interests of the people, according to the commands of His Majesty and of His Majesty's Ministers. To consult his council on the innumerable subjects upon which he has daily to decide, would be as utterly impossible as for any one but himself to decide upon what points his mind required, or needed not, the advice of his council. Upon their sterling fund he must therefore constitutionally draw whenever embarrassment requires it; and, on their part, if they faithfully honour his bills, however often he may present them, they conscientiously fulfil to their Sovereign, to him, to their country, and to their oath, the important duty which they have sworn in secrecy to perform.

Having concluded the above outline of the relative respon-

sibility of the Lieutenant-Governor and his Executive Council as it regards His Majesty's colonies in general, it may be observed with respect to this Province in particular, that when His Majesty, by conquest, first obtained possession of the Canadas, the government thereof devolved upon the military commander, until, by an act passed in the fourteenth year of George the Third, a council was appointed "for the affairs of the Province of Quebec, to consist of such persons resident therein (not exceeding twenty-three, nor less than seventeen) as His Majesty, his heirs and successors shall be pleased to appoint, which Council, so appointed and nominated, or the major part thereof, shall have power and authority to make ordinances for the peace, welfare, and good government of the Province, *with the consent of His Majesty's Governor.*"

This power of the Council was further restricted by certain important limitations, specified in clauses 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17 of the said Act. However, in the year 1791, a new act was passed, commonly called the Constitutional Act, because it settled the Constitution of the Canadas, which were then divided into Upper and Lower Provinces.

By this Act, the military domination of the General and his Council was changed for a new and a better system; and as evidently both could not exist together, the very first clause in the Act declared—

"That so much of the late Act (14th Geo. III.) as in any manner relates to the appointment of a council for the affairs of the said Province of Quebec, or to the power given by the said Act to the said Council, or to the major part of them, to make ordinances for the peace, welfare, and good government of the said Province, with the consent of His Majesty's Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or Commander-in-Chief, for the time being, *shall be, and the same is REPEALED.*"

The Act then proceeds to state, "That there shall be within each of the said Provinces respectively a Legislative Council and an Assembly," the duties and privileges of which are minutely declared in thirty-three consecutive clauses; but in no part of the said Act is an Executive Council directly or indirectly created; nevertheless, a vestige of the ancient one is, for the purpose of a Court of Appeal, (Vide Clause 34) recognised, with an expression which seemed to intimate that an efficient Executive Council would very shortly be created.

For instance, in Section 38 the Governor is, by authority of His Majesty's Government, and with the advice of the Executive Council, "empowered to erect Parsonages and Rectories;" but in Section 39, no mention whatever

is made of the Executive Council ; but, on the contrary, it is declared that the Governor, or Lieutenant-Governor, or person administering the Government, should present the incumbent "to every such Parsonage or Rectory."

In the fifty clauses of the Act in question, the Executive Council, which in Section 34 is merely described as "such Executive Council as *shall be* appointed by His Majesty," is scarcely mentioned; and as regards even its existence, the most liberal construction that can possibly be put upon the said Act only amounts to this—That as the Executive Council was evidently intended to exist, the remnant of the old one ought not to be deemed totally extinct until its successor was appointed.

However, this latent intention of His Majesty to create a council for each of the Provinces of his Canadian dominions was soon clearly divulged in a most important document, commonly called "THE KING'S INSTRUCTIONS," in which an Executive Council was regularly constituted and declared as follows :—

"Whereas we have thought fit that there should be an "Executive Council for assisting you, or the Lieutenant-Governor, or person administering the Government of the said Province of Upper Canada, for the time being, we do "by these presents nominate and appoint the undermentioned "persons to be of the Executive Council of our said Province "of Upper Canada," &c. &c. &c.

In subsequent clauses it was equally precisely defined upon what affairs of the Province the Lieutenant-Governor was to act, "*with the advice of the Executive Council,*" but with a view distinctly to prevent the new Council being what the old one had been—(which indeed under the new Constitution was utterly impossible) ;—in short, to set that question at rest for ever, it was declared in Section 8, "that to the end "that our said Executive Council may be assisting to you in "all affairs relating to our service, you are to communicate "to them *such and so many* of our instructions *wherein their* "advice *is mentioned to be requisite,* and likewise all such "others from time to time as you SHALL FIND CONVENIENT "for our service to be imparted to them."

The Lieutenant-Governor having now transmitted to the Executive Council his opinion of their duties, in contradistinction to that contained in their communication to him of yesterday's date, will not express the feelings of regret with which, under a heavy pressure of business, he unexpectedly received a document of so unusual a nature, from gentlemen upon whom he had only recently placed his implicit and unqualified reliance.

But he feels it incumbent upon him frankly and explicitly to state, that to the opinions they have expressed he can never subscribe: on the contrary, that so long as he shall continue to be Lieutenant-Governor of this Province, he will never allow his Executive Council officially to assume that heavy responsibility which he owes to his Sovereign, as well as to the people of this Province, to whom he has solemnly pledged himself "*to maintain the happy Constitution of this country inviolate; but cautiously, yet effectually, to correct all real grievances.*"

The Lieutenant-Governor maintains that the responsibility to the people, (who are already represented by their House of Assembly,) which the Council assumes, is unconstitutional; that it is the duty of the Council to serve *him*, not *them*; and that if upon so vital a principle they persist in a contrary opinion, he foresees embarrassments of a most serious nature; for, as power and responsibility must, in common justice, be inseparably connected with each other, it is evident to the Lieutenant-Governor, that if the Council were once to be permitted to assume the *latter*, they would immediately, as their right, demand the *former*; in which case, if the interests of the people should be neglected, to whom could they look for redress?—for, in the confusion between the Governor and an oligarchy composed of a few dominant families, shielded by secrecy, would not all tangible responsibility have vanished?

The Council cannot have forgotten, that previous to their first meeting in the Council Chamber, which happened only a few weeks ago, the Lieutenant-Governor had assured them in a note, (which was even publicly read in the House of Assembly,) that although he had no preliminary conditions to accede to, or to require, it was his intention to treat them with implicit confidence; and the Council must also remember how willingly they approved of the very first suggestion he made to them, namely, that no important business should be commenced in Council until they, as well as the Lieutenant-Governor himself, had become mutually acquainted with their respective duties.

The Lieutenant-Governor assures the Council, that his estimation of their talents and integrity, as well as his personal regard for them, remain unshaken; and that he is not insensible of the difficulties to which he will be exposed, should they deem it necessary to leave him. At the same time, should they be of opinion that the oath they have taken requires them to retire from his confidence, rather than from the principles they have avowed, he begs that on his account they will not for a moment hesitate to do so.

Government House, Toronto, March 5th, 1836.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

GENTLEMEN,—Nothing can appear more reasonable to my mind than the surprise and anxiety which the House of Assembly express to me at the intelligence they have received of the sudden resignation of the six members of the Executive Council; for with both these feelings I was myself deeply impressed, when, firmly relying on the advice, assistance, and cordial co-operation of my Council, I unexpectedly received from them the embarrassing document, which, with my reply thereto, I now, at the request of the House of Assembly, willingly present to you. With every desire to consult my Council, I was preparing for their consideration important remedial measures, which I conceived it would be advisable to adopt; and had they but afforded me those few moments for reflection, which, from my sudden arrival among you, I fancied I might fairly have claimed as my due, the question which so unnecessarily they have agitated, would have proved practically to be useless.

Had they chosen to have verbally submitted to me in Council, that the responsibility, and consequently the power and patronage of the Lieutenant Governor, ought henceforward to be transferred from him to them,—had they even, in the usual form of a written petition, recommended to my attention as a new theory, that the Council, instead of the Governor, was to be responsible to the people, I should have raised no objection whatever to the proceeding, however in opinion I might have opposed it; but when they simultaneously declared—not that such *ought* to be, but that such actually WAS the law of the land, and concluded their statement by praying, that a Council sworn in secrecy to assist me might be permitted, in case I disapproved of their opinion, to communicate with the public,—I felt it my duty, calmly and with due courtesy, to inform them, that they could not retain such principles together with my confidence—and to this opinion I continue steadfastly to adhere.

I feel confident that the House of Assembly will be sensible that the power entrusted to me by our Gracious Sovereign is a subject of painful anxiety;—that from the patronage of this Province I can derive no advantage; and that I can have no object in retaining undivided responsibility, except that which proceeds from a just desire to be constitutionally answerable to His Majesty, in case I should neglect the interests of his subjects in this Province. With these sentiments I transmit to the House of Assembly the documents they have requested, feeling confident that I can give them no surer

proof of my desire to preserve their privileges inviolate, than by proving to them that I am equally determined to maintain the rights and prerogatives of the *Crown*, one of the most prominent of which is, that which I have just assumed—of naming those Councillors in whom I conscientiously believe I can confide.

For *their* acts I deliberately declare myself to be responsible:—but they are not responsible for mine—and cannot be, because, being sworn to silence, they are deprived by this fact, as well as by the Constitution, of all power to defend themselves.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE MAYOR AND COMMON COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF TORONTO.

Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen,

The particular interest which I take in the welfare of this capital, of which I am myself an inhabitant, induces me to reply at some length to the Address I have just received from you, in which you state—First, That you have no confidence in what you term “the present *Provincial Administration* ;” and Secondly, That you beg leave to name for me other individuals for that station.

With respect to a “*Provincial Administration*,” although no such power exists in this or in any other Colony of the British Empire, I may remark, that, very shortly after the late addition to the Executive Council, I observed that great efforts were making to delude and persuade the public mind that the new Council were entitled to claim the responsibility, power, and patronage of the Lieutenant Governor, and that such an arrangement would be highly advantageous to the People.

Finding that this new theory was rapidly gaining ground, I resolved to offer it no secret opposition, nor in any way to exert my influence to oppose it; but I determined, the very first time it should come well within my reach, that I would drag it into daylight, in order that it might be openly, fairly, and constitutionally discussed.

From several places I subsequently received addresses on the subject, which I did not deem it advisable to notice; but to my astonishment, there suddenly appeared from a quarter from which I certainly least expected it—namely, from the Executive Council itself—a document (a copy of which had been inscribed in the Minutes of the Council, signed by all the six Councillors) openly declaring that what had secretly been promulgated respecting the powers of the Executive Council was actually the law of the land!

The question being fairly before me, I deliberately opposed it:—accepted the resignation of the six Councillors, and, at the request of the Assembly, I laid before that House the communication I had received from the Council, with my reply.

The subject was thus formally brought before the public; and having performed this duty, I felt comparatively indifferent as to the result; for, if the power and patronage of this Province, which have hitherto been invested in the Lieutenant Governor, really belong to his Council, I consider that without reluctance they ought at once to be delivered up and secured to them.

The House of Assembly, however, cannot alter the Constitutional Act of this Province; neither can I. And, as regards popular meetings, I need hardly observe, that if the inhabitants of the whole province were simultaneously to petition me to alter a single letter of that solemn Act, I have neither power nor inclination to do so.

If it should prove that the practice which has hitherto been pursued is erroneous, I will not for a moment hesitate to acknowledge it; and in that case I should feel it my duty at once to recall to my Council the six members who have resigned. But I cannot be blind to the fact, that the Constitutional Act—which is open to every body—does not create any Executive Council at all.

The members of the late Council rest their claims very nearly on the following grounds: First, That the responsibility they assume being a popular opinion, daily increasing, is consequently the law of the land;—and Secondly, That though the powers they require are nowhere expressed in the Constitutional Act, they were evidently intended to have been inserted.

I conceive that these arguments do not even require to be refuted; and with respect to what General Simcoe, or any other Governor may have asserted, I must also be permitted to assert, that the rights, liberties, and property of the inhabitants of this Province would be insecure indeed, if they rested on any such declaration.

The Constitution of this Province is the sacred Charter of the Land; and it is no less my duty than the interest of its inhabitants, that I should firmly maintain it, as I ever will, inviolate.

If that Charter constitutes a "Provincial Ministry," it need only be shown to me to be secured; but I deliberately repeat, that it contains the creation of no such a power, and in my opinion, were it to be now created, it would be productive of the most vicious effects; for if the power and patronage of the Crown were to be delivered over to a Tribunal sworn to

secrecy, they would very soon fall into the hands of a few metropolitan families, who might possibly promote their own views, to the rejection of the interests of the distant counties; whereas, while these powers continue invested in the individual appointed by His Majesty to be the Lieutenant Governor of this Province, he (being a stranger) can have neither interest nor inducement to abuse them.

No one can be more anxious than I am that this plain constitutional question should be gravely and calmly discussed; for it will be impossible for me to attempt to correct the grievances of the country until I can prevail upon the Legislature to follow me cheerfully in the noble object we have in view; and I certainly do feel most deeply, that, for the sake of the people, those who are invested with power ought manfully to determine to lay aside all private feelings—to forgive and to forget all political animosity—and to allow His Majesty's wishes and my instructions to be promptly executed.

With respect to the want of confidence you express in the Council I have just selected, I will only observe, that in my judgement, they appear to be sensible, steady men of business, of high moral worth; and I cannot but recollect, that one of these gentlemen was, only a few weeks ago, actually Mayor of your own City, selected by yourselves as being peculiarly entitled to that public confidence, which you now declare is denied to him.

With this moral before your minds, you surely cannot but admit, what a political tempest would continually exist, how the interest of the Farmer would be blighted, were the power and patronage of this thinly peopled Province to be transferred from His Majesty's Lieutenant Governor, into the hands of what you term a "Provincial Ministry" at Toronto.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE CITY OF TORONTO.

GENTLEMEN,—Having reason to believe that the meeting from which you are a deputation was composed principally of the industrious classes, and being persuaded that the liberal principle of the British Government, in whatever climate it may exist, is the welfare and happiness of the people, I shall make it my duty to reply to your Address with as much attention as if it had proceeded from either of the branches of the Legislature, although I shall express myself in plainer and more homely language.

1st, I have no wish to deny "that Colonel Simcoe was
" the first as well as the ablest and most enlightened Govern-

“ or of this Province ; that he was a member of Parliament when “ the Statute 31st Geo. III. chap. 31, commonly called the Constitutional Act, was passed ; and that he was the bearer of “ that Act to this Colony,”—but I ask you can this possibly alter the solemn Act itself ? for surely your own plain good sense will tell you, that Colonel Simcoe had no more power, either during his voyage, or on his arrival here, to alter the Charter committed to his charge, than I had power to alter the instructions which I lately delivered from His Majesty to both Houses of your Legislature ;—and so, if Colonel Simcoe, instead of saying that the Constitution of this Province “ was the very image and transcript of that of Great Britain,” had thought proper to compare it to the arbitrary governments of Russia or Constantinople, it would in no way have injured your liberties, or have altered one single letter of the written Charter of your land.

2nd, I have no wish to deny, “ that in the British Constitution the King is assisted in all the affairs of Government “ by the advice of known and responsible councillors and officers, who possess the confidence of the people, and who “ form His Majesty’s Cabinet.” But Colonel Simcoe, who, you yourselves state, “ was authorized undoubtedly by His “ Majesty’s Government to declare to his faithful subjects in “ this Province, the nature of the Constitution,” created no such cabinet, nor any cabinet at all ; and from his day down to the present hour, there has never existed any ministry in the Colony except the Governor, who is himself the responsible Minister of the Crown.

Supposing it were to be argued that four-fifths of the members of your House of Assembly ought immediately to be dismissed because in proportion to the population of Great Britain and Ireland there exist five times as many members here as in the English House of Commons, would you not think it very irrational that this noble but thinly peopled Colony should be made “ the exact image and transcript” of the British Constitution, merely because Colonel Simcoe happened to use these words ? Would you not immediately appeal to your Constitutional Act on the subject ? Would you deem it just that a young rising Province like this should be afflicted with the same expensive machinery requisite for the Government of the Mother Country, 4000 miles off ?

Would you not very fairly argue, that as the whole population of this immense country exceeds only by one third that of the single Parish of St. Mary-le-bone in London, and as the whole of its revenue does not equal the private fortune of many an English commoner, it would be unreasonable to expect that the people of this Province should be ruined in vainly attempting to be the “ exact image and transcript” of the British Government ?

But the Constitution which His Britannic Majesty George III. granted to this Province ordained no such absurdities, and you have only to read that Constitution to see quite clearly the truth of this assertion.

The yeomen and industrious classes of Upper Canada should never allow a single letter to be subtracted from or added to the great Charter of their liberties; for, if once they permit it to be mutilated, or what may be termed *improved*—they and their children become instantly liable to find themselves suddenly deprived of their property, and, what is better than all property, of their freedom and independence.

By this Act you are of course aware that a House of Assembly, a Legislative Council, and a Lieutenant Governor, are appointed; but it creates no Executive Council; and if people tell you that it does, read the Act and you will see the contrary.

Now, as regards the House of Assembly, you must know that, being your representatives, they are of course answerable to you for their conduct; and as regards the Lieutenant Governor, I publicly declare to you that I am liable to dismissal in case I should neglect your interests.

But, contrary to the practice which has existed in this or any other British colony,—contrary to Colonel Simcoe's practice, or to the practice of any other Lieutenant Governor who has ever been stationed in this Province, it has suddenly been demanded of me, that the Executive Council are to be responsible for my acts; and, because I have refused at a moment's warning to surrender that responsibility which I owe to the people, whose real interests I will never abandon, I find that every possible political effort is now making to blind the public mind, and to irritate its most violent passions.

But, I calmly ask, what can be the secret reason of all this? Is it usual for one person to insist on bearing another person's blame? or for a body of men to insist on receiving the punishment incurred by an individual superior to them in station? Why, therefore, should my Council (whose valuable advice, if it were not to be forced upon me, I should be most anxious to receive,) be required to demand from me my responsibility? What reason can exist for attempting to deprive me of the only consolation which supports any honest man in an arduous duty, namely, the reflection that he is ready to atone for every error he commits; and that he is subject to arraignment if he offends? Why should it be declared that responsibility would be more perfect with my Council than with me? Are they purer from party feelings, or less entangled with their family connections, than I am? How can gentlemen who have sworn to be dumb, be responsible to the yeomanry and people of this rising Province?

How could they possibly undertake to administer this Government with mouths sealed by an oath, which forbids them to disclose to any one the valuable advice they may conscientiously impart to me?

The answer to these questions is very short. The political party which demand responsibility for my Council, know perfectly well that the power and patronage of the Crown are attached to it; and it is too evident that if they could but obtain this marrow, the empty bone of contention, namely, responsibility to the people, they would soon be too happy to throw away; and from that fatal moment would all those who nobly appreciate liberty,—who have property to lose, and who have children to think of, deeply lament that they had listened to sophistry, had been frightened by clamour, and had deserted the Representative of our Gracious Sovereign, to seek British justice from his mute but confidential advisers.

This supposition, however, I will not permit to be realized; for never will I surrender the serious responsibility I owe to the people of this Province,—and I have that reliance in their honesty,—I have lived so intimately with the yeomanry and industrious classes of our revered Mother Country that I well know the more I am assailed by faction, the stronger will be their loyal support; and that if intimidation be continued, it will soon be made to recoil upon those who shall presume to have recourse to it.

The grievances of this Province must be corrected; impartial justice must be administered. The people have asked for it; their Sovereign has ordained it. I am here to execute his gracious commands. Delay will only increase impatience.

Those, however, who have long lived upon agitation, already too clearly see their danger; and with surprising alacrity they are now taking every possible measure to prevent me from rooting up the tree of abuse, because they have built and feathered their nests in its branches. They asked, however, for the operation, and to amputation they must very shortly submit; for, “what’s worth doing should always be done well.”

I have come here for the avowed purpose of reform; but I am not an agitator. And by the command of our Gracious Sovereign I will maintain the constitutional liberties of his subjects in this Province, and at the same time encourage, to the utmost of my power, internal wealth, agriculture, commerce, peace, and tranquillity.

With respect to my late Council, I regret quite as much as you can do their resignation; but, before they took the oath of secrecy, (which appears to my judgment to be an oath of non-responsibility to the people,) I addressed to them

a note, which clearly forewarned them as follows: — “*I shall rely on your giving me your unbiassed opinion on all subjects respecting which I may feel it advisable to require it.*”

Three weeks after they had joined the Council they, altogether in a body disputed this arrangement, and accordingly we parted on a matter of dry law.

No one can deny that my view of the subject agrees with the practice of Colonel Simcoe and of all the succeeding Governors of this Province, down to the day of Sir John Colborne's departure: — but that is no proof whatever that the practice has been right; and if you would prefer to form your own opinion of the law, read the Constitutional Act.

With respect to my new Council, whose high moral character I cannot but respect; I shall consult them as unreservedly as I had promised to consult those who have just resigned; and if any competent tribunal shall pronounce that they are responsible for my conduct, no one will be a greater gainer than myself by the decision.

In the mean while I shall deal openly and mildly with all parties, and I trust that I can give you no better proof of my own intention to be governed by reason, than the explanation I have just offered to yourselves, the citizens and industrious classes, who attended the Toronto Meeting.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF NIAGARA.

GENTLEMEN,—I can with truth assure you, that no schism in my Council, nor undue interference from any quarter, shall ever divert me from those defined Constitutional principles which, for the dignity of His Majesty's Crown, it is my duty to maintain.

The Inhabitants of the Town of Niagara, need not express the sentiment of Loyalty, for it is already recorded in the history of their country, and as I believe they would be among the first to feel jealous of my power, if I were weak enough to use it unconstitutionally, I duly appreciate their unsolicited approbation of the measures by which I have lately deemed it proper to protect it.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF YONGE STREET.

MARCH 30.

GENTLEMEN,—You can offer me no greater inducement to watch over your interests than by assuring me “that fully engaged in your various pursuits, in the social interchange of private life, and in the quiet enjoyment of Agricultural employment, you have neither leisure nor disposition to take a part in political excitement.”

Gentlemen, I strongly recommend you to continue this mild, sensible course, resting assured that however “strong” may be the “arm” of the British Government, its brightest weapons are its integrity, its love of justice, and its desire every where to promote the freedom and liberty of mankind.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTY OF HASTINGS.

GENTLEMEN,—In return for the Address I have just received from you, I assure you that I will continue firmly to uphold and support the best interests of your Agriculturalists, and of your Province, and that never will I allow either the one or the other to be placed under the irresponsible domination of a Toronto Ministry.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE GRAND JURY OF THE HOME DISTRICT.

GENTLEMEN,—If the important object I have in view were to obtain applause, nothing would be more gratifying to my feelings than the approbation of so well educated a body of gentlemen as the Grand Jury of the Home District; but without offence, I must declare that the strict performance of my duty requires that I should neither be stimulated by popularity, nor deterred by clamour. In maintaining the liberties of the Inhabitants of this Province, but little has been left by our Sovereign, either to my judgment or discretion; and if it be true “that the recent expressions of confidence in my Administration which you have heard, and in which you cordially concur, lead you to hope that the people will not long remain blinded to their own interest,” this happy effect has proceeded from no exertions of mine, but simply from my

having repelled our enemies by pointing to the Constitutional Act of this Province.

If that noble Charter had not existed, there can be no doubt but that the Representative of His Majesty would have been overcome, and that the inhabitants of Upper Canada would now be under the ignominious tyranny of a secret metropolitan "Cabinet;" but your Constitution has proved to be impregnable, and at this moment no people bewail the fact more keenly than those who have lately been nearly crushed in their endeavours to undermine it.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN AND TOWNSHIP OF KINGSTON

GENTLEMEN—The Address you have just delivered to me from 570 inhabitants of the Town and Township of Kingston, contains such evidence of their loyalty, and of their firm attachment to the revered Constitution of this Province, that I feel it quite unnecessary to point out the advantages they derive from being an integral part of the British Empire.

It therefore only remains for me to beg you to assure them, I feel most deeply the confidence they repose in me; and that so long as I shall remain His Majesty's Representative in this Province, I will never allow them to be unconstitutionally subjected to the arbitrary domination of an irresponsible, secret, and self-constituted "Cabinet."

If ever I should neglect their interests, or abandon the Constitution of their country, I hope they will express their sentiments on the occasion with the same firmness, and maintain the same principles which I now so much admire in their Address.

SPEECH ON PROROGUING PARLIAMENT.

APRIL 20.

*Honorable Gentlemen of the Legislative Council: and
Gentlemen of the House of Assembly:—*

Before I release you from the Legislative duties in which you have been respectively engaged, I consider it necessary to recapitulate the principal events of this Session.

You are perfectly aware that for many years the House of Assembly of Upper Canada have loudly complained of what they term their "Grievances," and that at the end of your last Session, these complaints having been referred to

a "Committee of Grievances" were, by the Assembly, "ordered to be printed in pamphlet form." In pursuance of this order, a volume containing 570 pages, was forwarded to, and received by, His Majesty's Government, as containing the sum total of the complaints of the people of this Province.

Whether the mere order for printing this Report of the Committee, could be legally considered as sanctioning it with their opinions, I have no desire to discuss; because no sooner did the said Report reach His Majesty's Government, than it was determined that the Grievances it detailed should immediately be effectually corrected; and accordingly Instructions were drawn out by His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, in which each subject of complaint was separately considered, and a remedy ordered for its correction; and I have only to refer to those instructions, to prove the generosity with which His Majesty overlooked certain language contained in the Report, and the liberality with which he was graciously pleased to direct that impartial justice should be administered to His subjects in this Province.

His Majesty's Government having determined that I should be selected to carry these remedial measures into effect, I waited upon the Colonial Secretary of State, (to whom, as well as to almost every other Member of the Government, I was a total stranger,) and respectfully begged leave to decline the duty, truly urging as my reason, that having dedicated my whole mind to a humble but important service, in which I was intently engaged, it was more congenial to my disposition to remain among the yeomanry and labouring classes of my own country, than to be appointed to the station of Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada. His Majesty's Government having been pleased to repeat their request, I felt it impossible not to accede to it, and I accordingly received the Instructions which had been framed; and having had the honor of an interview with His Majesty, during which, in an impressive manner which I can never forget, he imposed upon me His Royal Commands to do strict justice to His Subjects in this Province, I left England with a firm determination to carry the remedial measures with which I was entrusted, into full effect.

I arrived at this Capital on the 23d of Janury last, and on the 27th I delivered a Speech in which I informed you, I would submit in a Message the answer which His Majesty had been pleased to give to the several Addresses and Representations which proceeded from the two Branches of the Legislature during the last Session. I added, that as regarded myself, I had nothing either to promise or profess, but that I trusted I should not call in vain upon you for that assistance which your King expected, and which the rising interests of your Country required.

In thus officially coming before the Legislature of this country from our Gracious Sovereign, with a full measure of Reform, I had expected that my appearance would have been hailed and welcomed by both Houses of the Legislature, more especially by that from which had proceeded the Grievance Report; and I must own, I never anticipated it could seriously be argued for a moment that I was intruding upon the Privileges of either House.

Having made myself acquainted with the outline of Public Feeling in this Province, by conversing calmly with the men of most ability of all Parties, I communicated the result to Lord Glenelg, in Despatches dated the 5th of February, of which the following are extracts:

"Under these circumstances I consider that the great danger I have to avoid is the slightest attempt to conciliate any party—that the only course for me to adopt is, to act fearlessly, undisguisedly, and straightforwardly, for the interests of the Country—to throw myself on the good sense and good feeling of the people, and abide a result which I firmly believe will eventually be triumphant."

"Whatever may be the result, I shall steadily and straightly proceed in the course of policy I have adopted; I shall neither avoid, nor rest upon, any party; but after attentively listening to all opinions, I will, to the best of my judgment, do what I think honest and right; firmly believing that the stability of the Throne, the interests of this Province, and the confidence of the People, can now only be secured by such a course."

To the Speakers of both Houses, as well as to many intelligent individuals with whom I conversed, I declared my sincere determination to do justice to the people of this Province. It was however with deep regret I observed that from the House of Assembly I did not immediately obtain the assistance I expected in carrying the Instructions of His Majesty's Government into effect; for I received various Addresses requesting papers and information: which I feared might excite troublesome and by-gone discussion.

On the 5th of February I received an Address of this nature, to which, in as conciliatory a tone as possible, I replied at considerable length; and being now determined to urge, and, if possible, to lead the House of Assembly on towards Reform, I concluded my reply in the following words:

"The Lieutenant Governor takes this opportunity of appealing to the liberality and good sense of the House of Assembly for consideration, that as a stranger to this Province, totally unconnected with the political differences which have existed in the mother country, he has lately

"arrived here, entrusted by our most Gracious Sovereign, with instructions, the undisguised object of which is, firmly to maintain the happy Constitution of this country inviolate, but to correct cautiously, yet effectually all real grievances."

"The House of Assembly is deeply interested in the importance and magnitude of the task he has to perform, and he is confident it will on reflection, be of opinion, that the Lieutenant Governor of this Province had better look steadily forward to its future prosperity and improvement;—that he had better attract into Upper Canada the superabundant Capital and population of the Mother Country by encouraging internal peace and tranquillity, than be observed occupying himself solely in reconsidering the occurrences of the past."

"The Lieutenant Governor does not assert that the latter occupation is totally useless, but he maintains that the former is by far the more useful, and that to attend to both is impossible."

This appeal did not produce the effect I had anticipated; but I received another Address from the House of Assembly in behalf of eight Indians of the Wyandot Tribe; and I had scarcely entered this new and questionable ground, when a counter-petition was forwarded by eleven members of the same Tribe, in which they spontaneously declared, "we have the fullest confidence in the justice and fatherly protection of our beloved Sovereign and his Representative the Lieutenant Governor."

Another new set of grievances was now brought forward by the House of Assembly, in the form of an Address to the King on Trade and Commerce, which I immediately forwarded to His Majesty's Government, although the principal complaints in the Grievance Report still remained unnoticed and unredressed.

During these discussions I purposely refrained from having much communication with the old supporters of the Government; because I was desirous to show those who termed themselves Reformers, that I continued as I had arrived, unbiassed, and unprejudiced; and desiring to give them a still further proof that I would go any reasonable length to give fair power to their party, I added three gentlemen to the Executive Council, all of whom were avowed Reformers.

With the assistance of these gentlemen—with His Majesty's Instructions before us—and with my own determination to do justice to the Inhabitants of this Country, I certainly considered that the triumph of the Reform which had been solicited, was now about to be established, and that the grievances under which the people of this Province were said to labour, would consecutively be considered and redressed. But

to my utter astonishment these gentlemen, instead of assisting me in Reform, before they were a fortnight in my service, officially combined together in an unprecedented endeavour to assume the responsibility I owed to the people of Upper Canada as well as to our Sovereign, and they concluded a formal document which they addressed to me on this subject, by a request that if I deemed such a course not wise or admissible, they, who had been sworn before me to secrecy, might be allowed to address the people, and I must own, that the instant this demand reached me, I was startled, and felt it quite impossible to assent to the introduction of new principles, which to my judgment appeared calculated to shake the fabric of the Constitution, and to lead to Revolution instead of Reform.

Without discussing the arguments of the Council, I will simply observe, that had I felt ever so much disposed to surrender to them my station of Lieutenant Governor and to act subserviently to their advice;—had I felt ever so willing obediently to dismiss from office whomsoever they should condemn, and to heap patronage and preferment upon whomsoever they might recommend; had I felt it advisable to place the Crown lands at their disposal, and to refer the petitions and personal applications of the inhabitants of the remote Counties to their decision; I possessed neither power nor authority to do so. In fact, I was no more able to divest myself of responsibility, than a criminal has power to divert from himself upon another the sentence of the law; and though under the pretence of adhering to what is called “the image and transcript” of the British Constitution in this Province, it was declared that the Executive Council must be regarded as a *Cabinet*, I had no more power to invest that body with the attributes of a Cabinet than I had power to create myself King of the Province—than I had power to convert the Legislative Council into an Hereditary Nobility—or than I had power to decree that this *Colony* of the British Empire should henceforward be a KINGDOM.

From total inability therefore, as well as from other reasons, I explained to my Council, in courteous language, that I could not accede to their views; and it being evidently necessary for the Public Service that we should separate, I felt that it was for them rather than for me to retire. I received their resignations with regret; and, that I entertained no vindictive feelings, will be proved by the fact, that I immediately wrote to Lord Glenelg, begging his Lordship most earnestly not to dismiss from their offices any of these individuals on account of the embarrassments they had caused to me.

On the day the Council left me, I appointed in their stead four gentlemen of high character, entitled by their integrity and

abilities to my implicit confidence; and with their assistance once again determined to carry promptly into effect, those remedial measures of His Majesty's Government which had been solicited by the Grievance Report.

However, a new and unexpected embarrassment was now offered to me by the House of Assembly, who, to my astonishment, not only requested to be informed of the reasons why my Executive Council had resigned, but who, I have learned, actually suspended all business until my reply was received!

As the Lieutenant Governor of this Province is authorised by His Majesty, in case of death or resignation, to name, pro tempore, the individuals he may think most proper to appoint to his Council, I might constitutionally & perhaps ought to have declined to submit to either branch of the Legislature, my reasons for exercising this prerogative; but actuated by the earnest desire, which I had uniformly evinced, to comply with the wishes of the House of Assembly, I transmitted to them the correspondence they desired, with a conciliatory message which ended as follows:

"With these sentiments, I transmit to the House of Assembly the documents they have requested, feeling confident, that I can give them no surer proof of my desire to preserve *their* privileges inviolate than by proving to them, that I am equally determined to maintain the rights and prerogatives of *the Crown*; one of the most prominent of which is, that which I have just assumed, of naming those Councillors in whom I conscientiously believe I can confide.

"For their acts I deliberately declare myself to be responsible, but they are not responsible for mine, and cannot be, because being sworn to silence, they are deprived by this fact, as well as by the Constitution, of all power to defend themselves."

The House of Assembly referred the whole subject to a Committee, which, contrary to customary form, made its existence known to me, by applying directly to me, instead of through the House, for other documents and information, which I immediately forwarded, without objecting to the irregularity of the application; and the House, to my great surprise, prematurely passed its sentence upon the subject, in an address, in which it declared to me its "deep regret that I had consented to accept the tender of resignation of the late Council."

The following extract from my reply to this unexpected decision, will sufficiently explain the amicable desire I still entertained, to afford all reasonable satisfaction.

"The whole correspondence I forward to the House of Assembly, with an earnest desire that, regardless of my opinion, the question may be fairly discussed."

"In the station I hold, I form one branch, out of three, of the Legislature; and I claim for myself, freedom of thought, as firmly as I wish that the other two branches should retain the same privilege."

"If I should see myself in the wrong, I will at once acknowledge my error; but, if I should feel it my duty to maintain my opinion, the House must know that there exists a constitutional tribunal, competent to award its decision; and to that tribunal I am ever ready most respectfully to bow."

"To appeal to the people is unconstitutional as well as unwise—to appeal to their passions is wrong; but on the good sense of the House of Assembly I have ever shown a disposition to rely, and to their good sense I still confidently appeal."

Having thus thrown myself upon the integrity of the House of Assembly, I might reasonably have expected that a favourable construction would have been placed upon my words and acts, and that the disposition which I had evinced to afford the most ample information, and to meet as far as my duty would admit, the expectations and desires of the Assembly, would have been duly appreciated; the events, however, which soon after transpired, and the addresses which were presented to me in this city, and from other places in the vicinity, conveyed to me the unwelcome information that efforts were being made, under the pretence of "the Constitution being in danger," to mislead the public mind, and to induce a belief that I, as Lieutenant Governor, had declared an opinion in favor of an arbitrary and irresponsible Government—that I had shewn an entire disregard of the sentiments and feelings of the people whom I had been sent to govern, and that, therefore, the inhabitants of this country could never be contented or prosperous under my Administration. Several petitions, purporting to be addressed to the House of Assembly, and apparently forwarded by Members of that House to individuals in the country, with a view to obtain signatures, having been returned to the Government Office, I had ample opportunities of becoming acquainted with the fact that there existed an intention to embarrass the Government, by withholding the Supplies, and that even the terms had been prescribed to the people of the Province in which they were expected to address their Representatives for that object.

Now, it will scarcely be credited that while I was thus assailed—while placards declared that *the Constitution was in danger*, merely because I had maintained, that the Lieutenant Governor, and not his Executive Council, was responsible for his conduct,—there existed in the Grievance Report the following explanation of the relative duties of the Lieutenant Governor, and of his Executive Council:—

"It appears," says the Grievance Committee, "that it is the duty of the Lieutenant Governor to take the opinion of the Executive Council only in such cases as he shall be required to do so by his instructions from the Imperial Government, and in such other cases as he may think fit. It appears by the following transactions that the Lieutenant Governors only communicate to the Council so much of the private despatches they receive from the Colonial Office as they may think fit, unless in cases where they are otherwise specially instructed."

Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,

Having at your request transmitted to you the correspondence which passed between my late Executive Council and myself, and having reminded you that there existed "a Constitutional Tribunal competent to award its decision, and that to that tribunal I was ever ready most respectfully to bow," it is with surprise I learn that you have deemed it necessary to stop the Supplies.

In the History of Upper Canada this measure has, I believe, never before been resorted to; and as I was the bearer of His Majesty's especial instructions to examine, and wherever necessary, to correct the "Grievances" detailed in your report of last Session, I own I did not expect to receive this embarrassment from your House.

The effect of your deliberate decision will be severely felt by all people in the Public Offices—by the cessation of improvement in your roads—by the delay of compensation to sufferers in the late War—and by the check of Emigration.

In the complaints you have made to His Majesty against me, (in which you declare that my "ear is credulous"—my "mind poisoned"—my "feelings bitter"—that I am "despotic," "tyrannical," "unjust," "deceitful"—that my conduct has been "derogatory to the honor of the King," and "demoralizing to the community," and that I have treated the people of this Province as being "little better than a country of Rogues and Fools") you have availed yourselves of a high Legislative privilege, entrusted to you by your Constituents, to the exercise of which I have consequently no constitutional objection to urge, but for the honor of this Province in which I, though unconnected with the country, am as deeply interested as its inhabitants, I cannot but regret that while I was receiving from all directions the most loyal addresses, you, in your Legislative capacity, should have characterised His Majesty's Government, which has lately acted towards Upper Canada so nobly and disinterestedly, by the expression of "Downing-street Law."

Honorable Gentlemen and Gentlemen :

Having now concluded an outline of the principal events which have occurred during the present Session, I confess that I feel disappointed in having totally failed in the beneficent object of my mission.

I had made up my mind to stand against the enemies of Reform, but I have unexpectedly been disconcerted by its professed friends. No liberal mind can deny that I have been unnecessarily embarrassed,—no one can deny that I have been unjustly accused,—no one can deny that I have evinced an anxiety to remedy all real grievances—that I have protected the Constitution of the Province—and that by refusing to surrender at discretion the patronage of the Crown to irresponsible individuals I have conferred a service on the back-woodsman, and on every noble-minded Englishman, Irishman, Scotchman, and U. E. Loyalist, who, I well know, prefer British freedom and the British Sovereign to the family domination of an irresponsible Cabinet.

It now only remains for me frankly and explicitly to declare the course of policy I shall continue to adopt, as long as I may remain the Lieutenant Governor of this Province, which is as follows:—

I will continue to hold in my own hands, for the benefit of the people, the power and patronage of the Crown, as imparted to the Lieutenant Governor of this Province by the King's Instructions; I will continue to consult my Executive Council upon all subjects, on which, either by the Constitutional Act, or by the King's Instructions, I am ordered so to do, as well as upon all other matters in which I require their assistance. I will continue to hold myself responsible to all authorities in this country, as well as to all private individuals, for whatever acts I commit, either by advice of my Council or otherwise, and will continue calmly and readily to afford to all people every reasonable satisfaction in my power. I will use my utmost endeavours to explain to the people of this Province, that they want only wealth and population to become one of the finest and noblest people on the globe—that union is strength, and that party spirit produces weakness—that they should, consequently, forgive and forget political as well as religious animosity, and consider as their enemies only those who insidiously promote either;—that widely scattered as they are over the surface of this extensive country, they should recollect with pride, the brilliant history of "the old country," from which they sprung, and like their ancestors, they should firmly support the British Standard, which will ever afford them freedom and disinterested protection; that by thus tranquillizing the Province, the redundant wealth of the Mother Country will irrigate their land, and that her

population will convert the wilderness which surrounds them, into green fields—that an infusion of wealth would establish markets in all directions, as well as good roads—the arteries of agriculture and commerce; that plain practical education should be provided for the rising generation, as also the blessings of the Christian Religion, which inculcates ‘Glory to God in the highest, and on earth Peace, Good-will towards men.’

Taking every opportunity of offering these recommendations to the inhabitants of this Province, I shall in no way attempt to enforce them; on the contrary, I shall plainly promulgate, that if the yeomanry and farmers of Upper Canada are not yet sufficiently tired of agitation—if they do not yet clearly see what a curse it has been to them, it will be out of my power to assist them;—that if they insist on turning away the redundant wealth as well as the labourers of the Mother Country to the United States, I shall be unable to prevent them;—in short, that if they actually would rather remain as they are, than become wealthy, as they might be, my anxiety to enrich them must prove fruitless.

On the other side, whenever they shall be disposed to join heart and hand with me, in loyally promoting the peace and prosperity of the Province, they shall find me faithfully devoted to their service. In the meanwhile I will carefully guard the Constitution of the Country, and they may firmly rely that I will put down promptly, as I have already done, the slightest attempt to invade it.

With inward pleasure, I have received evidence of the invincible re-action that is hourly taking place in the public mind, and for the sake of the Province, rather than for my own, I hail the manly British feeling which in every direction I see, as it were rising out of the ground, determined to shield me from insult, and to cheer and accompany me in my progress towards Reform.

I have detained you longer than is customary, but the unprecedented events of this session have made it necessary to do so.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE DISTRICT OF NIAGARA.

GENTLEMEN,—In receiving the address of 754 of the inhabitants of the District of Niagara, who have deemed it their duty to come forward at the present crisis of affairs in this Province, to declare their attachment to the Constitution of this country; I feel that they have placed on record another instance of that steady loyalty which has already characterised the district of Niagara, and which I am confident it will ever cherish and maintain.

**REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE CHAIRMAN,
AND MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF POLICE
FOR THE TOWN OF BROCKVILLE.**

GENTLEMEN,—I will without delay transmit the Address I have just received from you to His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, with a request that it may be laid at the foot of the Throne.

It gives me great satisfaction to learn, that although you express confidence in the appointment of the Honorable John Elmsley, the Honorable William Allan, the Honorable Robert B. Sullivan, and the Honorable Augustus Baldwin, yet that you indignantly resist the fabrication of a secret irresponsible Ministry at Toronto.

Beware of all such innovations, however plausibly they may be recommended; and for your own sakes, as well as for mine, never allow yourselves, or your Lieutenant Governor to be placed for one single minute, under the domination of any man or men sworn to secrecy.

**REPLY TO THE ELECTORS OF THE CITY OF
TORONTO.**

GENTLEMEN.—No one can be more sensible than I am, that the stoppage of the Supplies has caused a general stagnation of business, which will probably end in the ruin of many of the inhabitants of this city; and in proportion as the Metropolis of the Province is impoverished, the farmers' market must be lowered,—for how can he possibly receive money, when those who should consume his produce, are seen flying in all directions from a land from which industry has been publicly repelled?

But I am guiltless of the distress which Upper Canada must shortly most bitterly endure; for, in my Legislative capacity I have never lost an opportunity of entreating that I might be assisted in attracting into this Province, by tranquillity, the wealth and population of the Mother Country. In this simple, peaceful doctrine I have, however, been opposed by a fatal declaration, which emanated, I regret to say, from the Metropolitan County, that "**THE CONSTITUTION WAS IN DANGER!!!**"—and that "*the grand object was to STOP THE SUPPLIES!*"

Well, Gentlemen, this "grand object" has been gained for you, and what, I ask, has been the result?

The Clerks and Messengers of the Government Offices, who during a long Session have laboured unremittingly for the public service, are now surrounded by their families,

perhaps penniless. Money, which would not only have improved your roads, but would have given profit and employment to thousands of deserving people, is now stagnant ;—the sufferers in the late war have lost the remuneration, which was absolutely almost in their hands ;—Emigration has been arrested ; and instead of the English yeoman's arriving with his capital in this free British country, its mechanics in groups are seen escaping from it in every direction, as if it were a land of pestilence and famine ;—all just claim for assistance from the Mother Country has vanished ;—every expectation of relief from internal industry is hourly diminishing.

In the flourishing Continent of North America, the Province of Upper Canada now stands like a healthy young tree that has been girdled, its drooping branches mournfully betraying that its natural nourishment has been deliberately cut off.

With feelings of deep melancholy I acknowledge myself to have been apparently defeated.

The object of my mission—my exertions—my opinions—my earnest recommendations, have been received by language to which I have no desire to allude, and the *grand object* of "stopping the Supplies" is now termed by its promoters the "Victory of Reform."

Gentlemen—I have no hesitation in saying, that another such victory would ruin this country.

But this opinion is hourly gaining ground ; the good sense of the country has been aroused ; the yeoman has caught a glimpse of his real enemy ; the farmer begins to see who is his best friend ;—in short, people of all denominations, of all religions, and of different politics, rallying round the *British Flag*, are now loudly calling upon me to grant them Constitutional redress.

When the verdict of the country shall have been sufficiently declared, I will promptly communicate my decision.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE DISTRICT OF JOHNSTOWN.

GENTLEMEN,—Besides the general Address which you have just presented to me, from the Inhabitants of the Johnstown District, I have also this morning received from individual townships of the same District, no less than nine similar Addresses, which altogether contain 3,367 signatures.

In each of these documents, the station, lot, and concession of every subscriber is affixed to his name, and I have particularly remarked, that nine-tenths of the signatures are those of yeomen and farmers.

I need hardly say that it affords me consolation to observe from your Address, that the yeomanry and farmers of Upper Canada, instead of allowing other people to think for them, have been at last driven to the necessity of judging for themselves of the serious events which have lately passed before their eyes.

In the Mother Country I have invariably found, that when the yeomanry are once aroused from the lethargy in which they are too apt to remain, their sturdy opinion forms one of the most correct verdicts in the land, and confidently believing that such will prove to be the case in this Province, I beg to ask those yeomen and farmers of the Johnstown District whose names are subscribed to the documents I have just received, the following plain questions :—

What necessity has there been for this general disturbance throughout Upper Canada about a responsible Executive Government ?

Can any honest man declare that as the Lieutenant Governor of this Province, I have shrunk from responsibility, or that I have theoretically or practically denied it to the people ?

On my arrival in this Province, did I not at once disclose the whole of my instructions ?

Have I not evidently to the best of my ability, endeavored calmly to explain not only to the Legislature, but to the inhabitants of this Province, my reasons for declining to surrender to my late Executive Council, that power and patronage which is the prerogative of the Crown ?

Has the language which so unnecessarily has assailed me, diverted me from my declared determination to govern and be governed by reason ?

Have I once rebuked it by an intemperate expression ?

While I was resolutely defending your Constitution which is the sacred Charter of your freedom, did I not repeatedly declare that in case I was wrong, there existed above us all, a high tribunal to which I was ever ready to bow ?

Why, I ask, was not that offer accepted ?

What necessity was there for my opponents to promulgate during the discussion that their grand object was "TO STOP THE SUPPLIES." ?

What was the use of paralyzing the country by so cruel a remedy ?

Did they think that despair and poverty could explain what reason and argument had failed to substantiate ?

Supposing I had erred in having publicly declared that it was desirable to attract into this Province, the redundant wealth and population of the Mother Country, might not my project have been frustrated without flying to the severe extreme of diminishing the wealth and distressing the population which already exists in this country ?

If it be really the opinion of the people, that this Province can never be prosperous or happy under my administration, was there any necessity, in expressing this sentiment, to resort to language which in all civilized countries has long been deemed disreputable to their inhabitants?

Does any honorable man conceive that I can entertain a desire to remain here for a moment, unless it were to protect by the King's authority, the real interests of the country?

Can any three professional gentlemen of Toronto, intently occupied in their own petty interests, presume to offer to Upper Canada the powerful protection and parental assistance which our Sovereign can bestow upon this young growing country?

Is the loyalty of this portion of the British Empire to bow before a self-constituted triumvirate, merely because it declares that no responsibility is trustworthy, but its own?

Gentlemen, I have no reply to offer to these questions, but commit them to your own calm judgment and good sense.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE ELECTORS OF THE HOME DISTRICT.

MAY 28.

GENTLEMEN,—The Addresses I have received requesting me to dissolve the present House of Assembly are so numerous, the signatures are so respectable, and the firm, manly language conveyed to me from all parts of the Province, is so strongly corroborative of a feeling of general disapprobation of the harsh measure that has been resorted to by stopping the Supplies, that I shall no longer hesitate to exercise my prerogative, by dissolving the Assembly.

With respect to a certain letter which you state, was "laid on the table of the House of Assembly a few hours before the Prorogation of the Legislature, purporting to come from the Speaker of the House of Assembly of Lower Canada, and addressed to the Speaker of the House of Assembly here," I have long refrained from noticing that document, although it has repeatedly been indignantly referred to in the Addresses from this Province, because, as the resolution of the House of Assembly of Lower Canada, dated 15th February, merely authorised their Speaker to "transmit copies of the foregoing Resolutions to the Speakers of the several Assemblies of Upper Canada, and of the Sister Provinces, and to express the desire of this House cordially to co-operate with the said Assemblies, in all Con-

"stitutional measures calculated to promote the mutual interests of these Colonies," it was evident to me that as Mr. Speaker Papineau's duty was thus clearly prescribed to him, he was not authorised to tack to his official communication his own private sentiments, nor was he in any way justified in proclaiming them in the first person plural as follows:—

"These Ministers *we* impeach." "Were *we* to resign *ourselves* to a degrading system of servitude." "If misrule went on unchecked in any of those neighbouring Colonies without exciting *our* sympathy, *your* ills would soon become *our* ills, and *ours* would reach *you* in return." If *you* have to complain of evils similar to *ours*, or of any other evils, all Constitutional means in the power of the people of this Province, would readily be resorted to, to aid *you* in their removal. Such good offices it is the duty of every Colony to render and to accept in turn."

It must be evident to every liberal-minded man, that the House of Assembly of Lower Canada did not authorise Mr. Papineau, in their name, to express to the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, the foregoing sentiments, nor to designate His Majesty's Government as "the naked deformity of the Colonial system;" nor to term the Royal Commissioners, "these deceitful agents;" nor to declare "that the state of society all over Continental America requires that the forms of its Government should approximate nearer to that selected UNDER PROPITIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES, and after mature consideration *by the wise Statesmen in the neighbouring Union*, than to those into which chance and past ages have moulded European Societies."

What is the real character of Mr. Speaker Papineau's language?—what is its latent meaning?—what epithet the civilized world will give to it—whether the House of Assembly of Lower Canada will approve or condemn their Legislative name being thus taken in vain, are opinions which were so unequivocally expressed in the House of Assembly in this Province when the document in question was first breathed upon them, that I have no observation whatever to make on the subject. But as Mr. Speaker Papineau has thought proper to promulgate in this Province, that "the people of the Canadas, labouring under the accumulative wrongs proceeding from an Act of Parliament *unite as a man*," I feel it necessary publicly to repudiate that assertion, by declaring what the state of opinion in Upper Canada really is.

The people of Upper Canada detest democracy; they revere their Constitutional Charter, and are consequently staunch in allegiance to their King.

They are perfectly aware that there exist in the Lower

Province one or two individuals who inculcate the idea, that this Province is about to be disturbed by the interference of foreigners, whose power and whose numbers will prove invincible.

In the name of every regiment of Militia in Upper Canada, I publicly promulgate—*Let them come if they dare!*

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWNSHIP OF MEDONTE.

GENTLEMEN,—It is with pleasure I observe, that sentiments such as those expressed in your Address, prevail in a part of the Province so remote from many of the advantages which other locations enjoy.

In clearing the backwoods, you have, I am aware, many privations to endure, but I can truly assure you, that the confidence you repose in me, shall not be forgotten; and I therefore trust you will continue, “when you retire at sun-set to your Shanties,” to think of, and consider me as your “friend.”

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE FREEHOLDERS OF THE TOWNSHIP OF PICKERING.

GENTLEMEN,—It is with great satisfaction that I have observed subscribed to the Address which I have just received from the Township of Pickering, the names of nearly forty individuals who are known to have been violent Reformers; for the fact corroborates the evidence I am hourly receiving, that all classes and conditions of men in Upper Canada, are joining hand in hand for the peaceful welfare of their country.

I must however, reluctantly observe, that there are sentences in your Address, in which you have explained your feelings in language stronger, than it was advisable to utter.

Your hearts cannot be too warm in attachment to your country, but it is by cool arguments and reason that we must determine nobly to attain our object.

Gentlemen,—It has long been declared by the few self-interested individuals, who are still endeavouring to mislead you, that cheap Government can never be obtained in this Province, because its Lieutenant Governor comes from the Mother Country, which is 4000 miles off. Now, with this statement before your minds, calmly read over the following list of the Commissionerships, which were voted by the House of Assembly in their last Session, and then determine for yourselves whether it is not highly advantageous instead of

being disadvantageous that the Lieutenant Governor should be a stranger totally unconnected with those local interests and family combinations, which might possibly expend your money for the sake of enriching a few individuals, who have long gained their bread by hypocritically declaring, what blessings you would receive, if you could but deprive the Lieutenant Governor of his patronage, and give it to them.

I have no observations to make on the list I now offer, except that I have exercised the prerogative of my station, in such cases as were submitted for my approval, by cancelling those Commissionerships.

List of Commissioners, appointed by the House of Assembly in the several Bills passed by them during the last Session, with proposed Compensation.

Number of Bill.	Commissioners.	Compensation.
41 Bertie Survey Bill.	Edmund Riselay, Samuel McAfee, George Rykert, Gilbert McMicking, David Thorburn,	20 shillings per day while actually employed. To be paid out of the funds of the District.
49 Navigation of the Waters of the Newcastle District.	Hon. Z. Burnham, John Gilchrist, Alex. McDonell, Arch'd. McDonald, Robert Jameson, A. S. Fraser, Ebenezer Perry, Peter Perry.	Superintendent to receive such allowance as may be authorized by the Commissioners,
68 Commissioners to Lower Canada	Hon. J. H. Dunn, M. S. Bidwell, Peter Perry.	Not exceeding £400, to reimburse them for necessary expenses in complying with the provisions of the Act.
77 Loughborough Survey.	John P. Roblin, H. W. Yager, George Rykert,	20 shillings per day while employed, out of District funds.
81 Windsor Harbour Bill.	John Campbell, — Kent, Ezra Annis, W. T. Moore, Jabez Hall, — Waish, Peter Perry.	10 shillings per day while employed, out of District funds.
107 Sale of Welland Canal Stock.	M. S. Bidwell, Peter Perry, David Thorburn.	25 shillings per day for each day necessarily engaged.
86 School and Crown Lands.	Captain Dunlop, Dr. C. Duncombe, James Durand, David Gibson, John Gilchrist, Peter Perry, M. V. Howard, Peter Shaver.	20 shillings per day while actually employed.

Number of Bill.	Commissioners.	Compensation.
92 Presquile Light-House.	Charles Short, William Lyons, James Wilson, Charles Biggar, Simon Kellog.	3 per cent to superintend.
33 Sale of Clergy Reserves.	Ottawa Dist. Chas. Waters, Eastern " Peter Shaver, Johnstown " A. N. Buell, Bathurst " Wm. Morris, Midland " Peter Perry, Newcastle " W. Boswell, Home " J. Ketchum, Gore " C. Hopkins, Niagara " W. Woodruff, London " C. Duncombe, Western " F. Baby, P. Edward " J. P. Roblin.	5 per cent to cover all ex- penses incurred in comply- ing with the provisions of the Act, and to remunerate the Commissioners.
51 Gwillimsbury Road and Bridge.	Thomas Drury, Joseph Hodgkins, Adney Penfield, Wm. Laughton, Francis Phelps.	To appoint a Superintend- ent with suitable provision.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE NEWCASTLE DISTRICT.

MAY 30.

GENTLEMEN,—I am so perfectly convinced that the prosperity of the Inhabitants of this Province, depends entirely upon their own good sense, that I beg to express to you my approbation of the moderate tone and language of the Address in which 3,986 inhabitants of the Newcastle District, have offered me firm and Constitutional support.

As your District has now the important duty to perform, of electing representatives for a new Parliament, I think it may practically assist you, if I clearly lay before you, what is the conduct I intend inflexibly to pursue, in order that by the choice of your new Members, you may resolve either to support me, or oppose me as you may think proper.

I consider that my character and your interests are embarked in one and the same boat. If by my administration I increase your wealth, I shall claim for myself credit, which it will be totally out of your power to withhold from me; if I diminish your wealth, I feel it would be hopeless for any one to shield me from blame.

As we have therefore one common object in view, the plain question for us to consider is, which of us has the greatest power to do good to Upper Canada? or, in other words, can you do as much good for yourselves as I can do for you?

It is my opinion that you *cannot*! It is my opinion that

if you choose to dispute with me, and live on bad terms with the Mother Country, you will, to use a homely phrase, only quarrel with your own "bread and butter." If you like to try the experiment by electing members, who will again stop the Supplies, do so, for I can have no objection whatever; on the other hand, if you choose fearlessly to embark your interests with my character, depend upon it I will take parental care of them both.

If I am allowed, I will by reason and mild conduct, begin first of all by tranquillizing the Country, and as soon as that object shall be gained, I will use all my influence with His Majesty's Government to make such alterations in the land granting departments, as shall attract into Upper Canada the redundant wealth and population of the Mother Country.—Men, Women, and Money are what you want, and if you will send to Parliament Members of moderate politics, who will cordially and devoid of self-interest, assist me, depend upon it, you will gain more than you possibly can do by hopelessly trying to insult me; for let *your* conduct be what it may, *I* am quite determined so long as I may occupy the station I now do, neither to give offence, nor *to take it*.

[His Excellency after making the reply, was pleased kindly to explain to the deputation, that no censure was intended to be conveyed by the foregoing remarks, but that his motive in making them, was simply to inform the People at large, of the true position in which both they and he respectively stood.]

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWNSHIP OF RICHMOND AND ITS VICINITY IN THE COUNTY OF CARLETON

GENTLEMEN.—I am perfectly sensible that the County of Carleton has long been famed for its loyalty and attachment to the British Constitution.

The expressions contained in your Address are extremely congenial to my feelings, for like yourselves, I have been nurtured with British feelings, which have grown with my growth, and which, with your assistance, I will endeavor to cultivate in this land.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF ERNEST TOWN AND AMHERST ISLAND.

GENTLEMEN.—Your expressions of attachment to the Constitution of this Province, and of loyalty to the person of our most Gracious Sovereign, merit my warmest approbation.

I have been commanded by His Majesty to use every endeavor to correct the real Grievances, and to promote the interests of this noble Province.

As His Majesty's Representative I have faithfully attempted to do both; but you know the result—you appreciate the difficulties which have opposed me.

ADDRESS OF THE MAYOR AND SOME OF THE CITIZENS OF TORONTO.

To His Excellency Sir Francis B. Head, Knight Commander of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order, and of the Prussian Military Order of Merit, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Upper Canada, &c. &c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

We, the undersigned Electors of the City of Toronto, have read in Your Excellency's Answer to the Address of certain Electors of the Home District, the following language:—
 "They" (the people of Upper Canada) "are perfectly aware
 "that there exist in the Lower Province one or two individuals who inculcate the idea that this Province is about to be
 "disturbed by the interference of foreigners, whose power
 "and whose numbers will prove invincible. In the name of
 "every Regiment of Militia in Upper Canada, I publicly promulgate, LET THEM COME IF THEY DARE!" — We do not doubt the readiness with which would be answered, upon any emergency, your appeal to the Militia, which appeal, we are satisfied, would not have been made without adequate cause.

In a matter so seriously affecting the peace and tranquillity of the Country, and the security of its Commerce, we beg to learn from Your Excellency from what quarter the invasion is alleged to be threatened.

REPLY.

GENTLEMEN,—The idea which is inculcated by one or two individuals in the Lower Province, "that this Province is about to be disturbed by the interference of foreigners," is too notorious to be denied, and I have therefore no further observations to make on the subject.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF LONDON AND ITS VICINITY.

GENTLEMEN.—There is no portion of your Address of which I more cordially approve than that in which you promise me, that your “utmost efforts shall be employed to dissipate the delusion under which too many of your countrymen have been brought, by the specious representations of ‘factionous and designing men,’ for I feel very deeply, that if the inhabitants of this Province only knew the truth, they would then be sensible how cruelly they have been deceived by those who undertook to promote their interests.

Gentlemen,—I need hardly assure you, that I myself am an advocate for reform, because if you will but take the trouble to read my instructions, they will shew you, that I was sent to Upper Canada by our Gracious Sovereign, for the express purpose of carrying reform into effect—but the moment the agitators of this Province read my instructions, they felt, “*what will become of us agitators if the grievances of this country should ever unfortunately be removed? The King’s instructions and Sir Francis Head are going to ruin us; he, or we, must fall, for if he should succeed in correcting the grievances of this country, one of two afflictions must befall us—namely, we must either work honestly like our neighbours, or starve!*”

Gentlemen,—the more I appeal to the good sense and good feeling of His Majesty’s loyal subjects in Upper Canada, the more I find myself surrounded by all the most estimable members of its society—indeed in a British country I believe whoever will act reasonably towards the people, will eventually succeed in winning not only their confidence, but their regard.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE DISTRICT OF OTTAWA.

GENTLEMEN.—It is highly satisfactory to me to receive from the distant District of Ottawa, the same opinions and the same sentiments which are daily reaching me from other portions of the Province.

With respect to the insulting language which was offered to me in the public and official documents to which you allude, I must say, I have never regretted it; for I clearly foresaw it would soon create its own punishment; indeed, several of those who used it have already found that it has sunk them in the estimation of their Constituents. In no part of the civilized world would such language be tolerated, and I am

happy to observe that in Upper Canada it is equally looked upon with disgust.

Gentlemen—The extraordinary reaction which has taken place in the public mind, will, I trust, be peculiarly beneficial to the Ottawa District, which, lying between two great rivers, only requires tranquillity to be prosperous; with this common object before us, you will be happy to learn, that I have received Addresses similar to your own, from 25,663 individuals, most of whom are Yeomen and Farmers, who have openly and manfully affixed their professions and residences to their names.

On the other hand, not a single address has reached me from the opposite party, since the prorogation of the Parliament. In no instance have the few individuals who have so unfortunately been misleading the public mind, thought it prudent openly to state to me their objections, lest I should expose them to public view, but their opposition, like their object, is dark, mysterious, and discreditable.

The falsest reports are daily invented, and at great expence are circulated all over the Province, in order, if possible, still to delude and agitate the public mind—for instance, it has been stated that I wish to establish Tithes,—that I am concocting plans for making the people of Upper Canada slaves, &c. &c. &c.

Gentlemen.—My plans and projects are all contained and published in the instructions which I received from the King. They desire me to correct, without partiality, the grievances of this country; and it is because the agitators see I am *determined* to do so, that they are endeavoring to obstruct me by every artifice in their power. They declare me to be their enemy, and the truth is, *I really am*.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWNSHIP OF SOMBRA.

GENTLEMEN.—My duties, as you have stated them to be, are “arduous and difficult,” and yet the Instructions I received from His Majesty are plain and easy; but Upper Canada has been so cruelly deceived by false statements, that the farmers’ interests are neglected, while the agitators of the Province have been reaping a rich harvest.

Gentlemen,—I was sent here by His Majesty on purpose to correct the grievances of the country. I see quite clearly who are its enemies; and I declare to you, that if the farmers will assist me, I will assist them.

It is quite certain that I can render this Province powerful assistance; and it is equally certain that I have been ordered by His Majesty so to do.

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REPLY OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR TO AN ADDRESS FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE NORTH PART, AND A PORTION OF THE GORE OF TORONTO.

GENTLEMEN,—I arrived in this Province impressed with the idea, that the Grievance Report was an honest document. It is with deep regret I now deliberately declare it to be a deception, containing assertions to which I can give no milder designation, than that they are incorrect; and whenever the proper time shall arrive, it will be easy for me to contrast the statements in this report with the facts which are before us all.

When this result shall be known, the British Government which so promptly attended to these complaints, and His Majesty who so nobly desired they should be corrected, will no doubt entertain feelings which it is not for me to express:—in the mean while, the fact I state to you will sufficiently explain why I have been so vexatiously opposed by the very agitators who called for Reform—for the truth is, they did not dare to face their own Grievance Report—they were afraid to meet me upon that ground—well knowing, that it is easier to transmit accusations to a country “four thousand miles off,” than to substantiate them upon the spot!

This unhappy policy, I regret to say, has in another instance been lately resorted to.

The agitators of the late House of Assembly, requested me, as you are aware, to be pleased to lay before them my correspondence with my late Executive Council. I at once transmitted it for their consideration, but instead of treating me with equal frankness, they addressed their Petition on the subject, not to me, who was here, able and ready to defend myself—not to His Majesty's Ministers to whom I might have appealed, but to the British House of Commons, who they well knew were in total ignorance of the whole affair. I ask, why did they thus appeal to Gentlemen on the other side of the Atlantic, when they have so long been declaiming against seeking for justice “four thousand miles off!” Why did they refuse to allow my correspondence with my Executive Council to be printed, and why has the official printing of their own Report been so long withheld from the inhabitants of this Province.

Gentlemen,—It is not only trifling with the British Government, but it's trifling with the British character of Upper Canada, to ask for the redress of Grievances, and then to shrink from allowing them to be investigated. The language which has been heaped upon me, is discreditable to this Province, and consequently injurious to its best interests.

The British people entertain high minded feelings towards the inhabitants of the Canadas. The Old Country rejoices in the freedom of its offspring, in whatever portion of the

Empire they may exist;—and who among you can believe, that while our beloved Sovereign is nobly promoting the peace and freedom of the whole world, he should desire to withhold either of these British blessings from his Canadian subjects?

Gentlemen,—We must study to merit the good opinion of the civilized world; for, without it no nation can attain eminence or wealth.

The Grievance Report has been an injury to you, which it will require a course of steady conduct to correct.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE FREEHOLDERS OF THE COUNTY OF ESSEX.

GENTLEMEN,—The eyes of all good and intelligent men in North America, as well as in the Mother Country, are now intently fixed on Upper Canada.

They observe, that His Britannic Majesty has liberally commanded, that all Grievances in this Colony shall be removed,—that a Lieutenant Governor has arrived with open instructions to that effect,—that he is dealing reasonably with the people, and that on his calling upon them, "*to cheer and accompany him in his progress towards Reform,*" a burst of loyalty has resounded from every part of the Province.

Contrasted with this pleasing picture of the effect produced by British justice upon British feelings, those who are watching us, also observe, that in each Province of the Canadas, there exist a few dark, designing men, who, with professions of loyalty and deep attachment to the Mother Country on their lips, hate in their hearts the British Government, because they (divested of its attributes) self-interestedly desire to reign in its stead.

If these individuals were to unmask their real designs of separating this free Colony from the British Empire, they would instantly be deserted by the congregation of honest men who are now unsuspectingly led to believe, that their object goes no farther than Reform. However the mysterious midnight production of a certain letter, coupled with the Lower Canadian measure of stopping the Supplies, has opened people's eyes to their danger, and they now begin to perceive, that the safest reform they can desire is, that which our benevolent Sovereign has graciously commanded me to effect.

Gentlemen,—For the obliging expressions, with which you have concluded your Address, I beg to return you my best thanks.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE ELECTORS OF THE SECOND RIDING OF THE COUNTY OF YORK.

GENTLEMEN,—On my arrival in this Country, it was publicly placarded, that I was "*A tried Reformer,*" and that my

appointment as Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, was "*Glorious News!*"

Reformers of all descriptions were called upon to give me their support; and in the same breath, you must perfectly well remember, it was arranged and declared for me in what manner I was about to distribute the patronage of the Crown.

As soon, however, as I prepared to reform the real grievances of the country, without having first created the appointments that had been proclaimed, I found myself instantly attacked by those who had most loudly called for Reform in general, and for the blessings of cheap government in particular; and when I positively refused to surrender that power and patronage which had been entrusted to me by our Gracious Sovereign, the "*Glorious News*" of my arrival was instantly converted into a scream that "THE CONSTITUTION WAS IN DANGER"!!!

Gentlemen,—This exclamation had the effect which I trust it will ever produce in every country, which enjoys the freedom of the British Constitution—for it aroused every man.

Nothing could be more favorable to my views—for this cry of the Constitution being in danger gave me an opportunity of calmly explaining to the Inhabitants of the Province, the clear positive orders I had received from His Majesty to correct all the real grievances of Upper Canada.—It gave me an opportunity of proving how anxious I had been to do so, and how vexatiously I had been prevented, merely because I had refused to distribute patronage as was desired.

In short it had the happy effect of gaining for me the confidence and good opinion of thousands of honest men, who had been artfully led to believe that I was their enemy; and I am happy to announce, that from all parts of the Province, the sincerest Reformers are now in crowds offering me their support.

They have listened to the arguments I have laid before the country, and have heartily joined the cause of truth and reason. In short, those who uttered the scream, now most keenly bewail it—they find themselves completely defeated by it,—they feel that it has created a revolution in the public mind, which they did not at all expect, and that in fact, it is the agitator, and not the Constitution, that is now in danger!

Gentlemen,—I fervently pray that in the future History of this noble portion of the British Empire, the cry of "*The Constitution is in danger*" may never be uttered in vain; but that the real enemies of the country may always be defeated by it, as completely, as a few self interested individuals have just been, in their attempt to seize upon that power and patronage, which, in obedience to His Majesty's commands, it shall be my proud duty to administer with impartial justice.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE COLORED INHABITANTS OF HAMILTON, DUNDAS, AND BRANTFORD.

I have great pleasure in receiving from the Colored Inhabitants of Hamilton, Dundas, and Brantford, expressions of their gratitude for the blessings they enjoy in this Province, under His Majesty's Government, and I can assure them that there is nothing in British policy, more fixed, more determined, and more congenial to the wishes of the people, than that all the inhabitants of the Empire should enjoy that freedom, which our Sovereign loses no opportunity of encouraging, to the utmost of his power, in every region of the globe.

EXTRACT FROM A DESPATCH OF THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR TO LORD GLENELG,

DATED 21st APRIL, 1836.

[This important Document, in which the Lieutenant Governor exposes the accusations made against him by the late House of Assembly in their petition to the British House of Commons, has been shewn by His Excellency to so many individuals, that we have had no difficulty in adding to our Pamphlet a correct copy of it.]

The House of Assembly in their Petition to the House of Commons, make their second complaint against me as follows :

2. "Upon the formation of this Council, although R. B. Sullivan, Esq. was sworn in and appeared to the public as Senior Councillor, upon whom, in the event of the death or absence of His Excellency, might devolve the administration of the Government, yet a *secret* agreement was entered into, written in the Council Chamber, by His Excellency himself, by which was to be defeated the apparent succession of the Senior Councillor to the administration of the Government. This arrangement was denied by His Excellency to us in his Answer to our Address on the subject; while on the other hand the facts so denied are proved by the testimony of R. B. Sullivan, Esq. and the Honorable Captain Baldwin, both of whom are still retained by His Excellency in the Council. For other instances of his deviation from candour and truth, as well as of his utter unacquaintance with the nature of our Constitution, and the mode in which it should be administered, we refer to the appended documents."

If the above statement had been made to your Lordship, I should not feel it necessary to notice it, but as it is addressed to the House of Commons, and is intended to conceal the weakness of their own cause, by calumniating me, I will as briefly as possible, shew your Lordship the wilful misrepresentations it contains.

The day after my late Executive Council resigned, I gazet-

ted Messrs. Sullivan, Allan, Baldwin, and Elmsley, in their stead, and appointed a day on which they were to be sworn in.

On the morning of this day Mr. Sullivan called upon me, and said, that though he wished to retain the place in which his name had appeared in the Gazette, yet he wished that it should be clearly understood, that, in case of my death, it was his intention to resign.

My answer to him was, "*when I am dead you may all do what you like.*"

On assembling in the ante-chamber of the Council, to be sworn in, Mr. Sullivan repeated his request, begged that his intention might be committed to writing before they were sworn in, and proposed that some person should be procured to write a memorandum of his wishes.

I replied, "*surely any one can write that !*" and I accordingly took up a pen and wrote what he desired, which was signed in presence of the other Councillors, and delivered to Mr. Allan before any of them were sworn in. As soon as it was signed, I said, "*This had better not be secret, it had better be made public,*" and accordingly the following day Captain Baldwin stood up in the Legislative Council, and made public the whole arrangement.

About ten days afterwards the House of Assembly, at the request of the Committee to whom had been referred my correspondence with my late Executive Council, forwarded to me an Address, requesting that I would lay before the House "*copies of any bond or agreement between Your Excellency and any of your present Executive Council, or between any two or more of the said Council, by which it is stipulated in what manner the Government shall be administered, or who shall administer the Government in case of the above named occurrence.*"

"As I have stated to your Lordship, the paper which was signed in the ante-chamber of the Council, and there delivered to Mr. Allan without any minute in Council being made respecting it, did not stipulate "*in what manner the Government should be administered*" in case of my death, nor did it stipulate who in that event "*should administer the Government of the Province;*" it merely stated Mr. Sullivan's whim or intention to resign, and as that had been made public in the way I have stated, I knew quite well that the Address of the House of Assembly asking for my "*Bond,*" was merely intended to insult me.

I accordingly replied to the Address as follows :

"Gentlemen,—I have entered into no bond or agreement of any sort with my present Executive Council,—and I do not possess, nor does there exist in Council any document of such a nature, between two or more of the said Council."

This was strictly correct, for I myself had entered into no

bond, nor did there exist in *Council* any document of the nature applied for.

It was by the advice of the Council who read the Assembly's Address to me, as well as my reply before it was sent, that the above answer was given—and after it was transmitted I gave Mr. Sullivan permission to go before the Committee (which he did) and explain to them exactly what had taken place, which he did in the following plain, honest evidence on the subject.

“ Robert Sullivan, Esq. called in and Interrogated.

“ Query 1. Are you Senior Member and presiding Councillor of the Executive Council ?

“ Answer. Yes.

“ Query 2. Is there any written agreement existing between yourself and any of the other members of the Executive Council, by which it is stipulated on your part in what way the Government should be administered in the event of the death or removal from the Province of the Lieutenant Governor.

“ Answer. There is no agreement in existence by which it is stipulated how the Government of this Province shall be administered in the event mentioned in the question. At the time the Council were about to be sworn in, I expressed a wish that it might be understood that in either of the events mentioned, it was my intention to resign my place as Executive Councillor, as it was not my desire in any event, to fill the office of Administrator of the Government.

“ At my request this intention was expressed in writing, and I signed it.

“ Query 3. Is the instrument you mention under seal, or witnessed ?

“ Answer. It is neither under seal, nor witnessed.

“ Query 4. Into whose hands did you deliver the document.

“ Answer. Into the hands of the Honorable Wm. Allan.

“ Query 5. Did any other person know of the existence of the document ?

“ Answer. Yes. It was not intended that my intention should be secret. His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor was present when it was read, and he delivered it to Mr. Allan.

“ Query 6. Did His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor write the document, or was it written by His Excellency's order ?

“ Answer. I proposed that my intention should be expressed in writing, and I wished that the writing should be drawn up by some person other than myself; upon which His Excellency being present, was kind enough to draw it up.

“ Query 7. Was the writing intended to be legally binding upon you ?

“ Answer. Certainly not.

" *Query 8.*—What was the object or intention of the paper in question, if it was not intended to be legally binding?

" *Answer.*—It was intended for my own satisfaction, that it might not be said that I had it in view to fill the office of Administrator of the Government?

" *Query 9.*—Do you think you could constitutionally resign, in case of either of the above events, and give place to another who could administer the Government?

" *Answer.*—I could transmit my resignation to His Majesty's Government, and decline taking upon myself the office of Administrator of the Government. I think it is the Constitutional right of any individual to decline taking office upon himself, and as to giving place to another, that is not the act of the person declining office, but of the law.

" *Query 10.*—Do you not think, that in either of the above events taking place, you would be the Administrator of the Government, without being appointed in any way?

" *Answer.*—The senior Executive Councillor would, upon taking the oaths of Office, be invested with the Administration of the Government, without any further appointment.

" *Query 11.*—Do you think, that upon your resignation as above stated, the Administration of the Government could be assumed by any other member of the Council?

" *Answer.*—I think it could; either upon my resignation, or upon my refusal to take the oaths of Office."

With this explanation before your Lordship, I must beg you to refer to the artful and incorrect statements made by the Assembly in their Petition to the House of Commons.

1st. They say that a "*secret*" agreement was entered into, although, at my own recommendation, it had been as I have stated, publicly proclaimed to the whole country by one of the members of the new Executive Council, in his place in the Legislative Council.

2ndly. They say that this "*arrangement was denied by His Excellency to us*, in his answer to our Address," altho' I denied no such thing, but stated that I had entered into no such Bond or agreement, and that I did not possess, nor did there exist in Council any Document of such a nature.

It could not matter to me one straw, whether, when I was dead, Mr. Sullivan resigned, or whether all the Councillors resigned. I could have no object that Mr. Sullivan's intention to resign should be secret—if I had, I should not have recommended it to be made public, and should not have told Mr. Sullivan to go before the Committee, and explain his own story.

But the Republicans in the House of Assembly, were unable to answer the correspondence which I had held with

my late Executive Council, and feeling that they were dead beaten, they caught at this straw, and petitioned the House of Commons, who, they of course knew, were perfectly ignorant of the whole subject, against what they have termed my "*deviation from candour and truth.*"

But it is, perhaps, well they should have done so, as it will explain to the House of Commons, as well as to your Lordship, what sort of people the Revolutionists of Upper Canada are, and will prove the absolute necessity of not ordering the Lieutenant Governor to be governed by his Executive Council, which might be composed of such men. In this event, what would become of the property of the Crown? What would become of the rights of the people?

* * * * *

Your Lordship cannot but remark, that for the first time in the History of this Province, the Supplies have been stopped—that the whole country has thus been thrown into confusion, and that the period selected for this violence, has been my arrival with your Lordship's Instructions, to correct all the Grievances of the Country!—Had the object of those who styled themselves Reformers, been *reform*, your Lordship's Instructions would have been hailed with joy—instead of which, they have been repudiated by the Republicans, as the enemy of their hopes.

The case is fortunately so clear, that no one, even in England, can now fail to understand it.

"*Why,*" it will be asked, "*have the Supplies in Upper Canada been stopped?*"—the answer is, because the complaints of the Republicans were ordered to be corrected, and being thus driven off their Grievance-ground, they were forced by your Lordship to unveil their real object, which has been neither more nor less, than to seize upon the power and patronage of the Crown!

"*And how,*" it will be asked, "*have they attempted to do this?*"—I reply, by demanding that the Executive Council be henceforward responsible to the people, or in other words, to themselves, for the acts of the Lieutenant Governor.

"*And is this all?*" No! they further demand, that the Legislative Council shall be Elective, or in other words, that it also shall be nominated by themselves; and if this does not betray their real object---if this does not prove to people in England, the traitorous, democratic intentions of the half-dozen Republicans who have been allowed to agitate this noble Province,---facts are useless, and arguments powerless!

